



J. Gwyn delin.

J. Hall sculp.

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

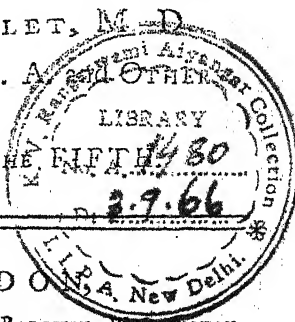
By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
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MDCCLXI.



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AND

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C H A P. CXXXVIII.

Of the Invasion designed against ENGLAND.
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WITH this view Philip fitted out that prodigious fleet, which was to have been seconded in its operations by another armament from Flanders, and a general rising of all the catholics in England. These preparations proved the ruin of Mary Stewart, and hurried her to the scaffold, instead of delivering her from it. Philip had now nothing left but to revenge her death by seizing upon England for himself; after which he looked upon Holland as already reduced, and punished for its rebellion.

The gold of Peru was lavished for the purposes of this expedition. The Invincible Armada set sail from the port of June 3^d. Lisbon, with one hundred and fifty
1588. large ships, manned with twenty thousand soldiers, near seven thousand seamen who could be armed for fight upon occasion, and mounted with three thousand pieces of cannon. The duke of Parma was ready with transports, and an army of thirty thousand men, which he had raised in Flanders, to join Philip the instant of his landing in England. It seemed impossible for the English ships, which were no more than small barks in comparison with those of the Spaniards, to stand against the force of these floating citadels, whose upper works were above three feet thick, and impenetrable to cannon *. Nevertheless, this well concerted scheme failed in almost every part. The English soon appeared with a fleet of one hundred sail, and notwithstanding their inferiority in bulk, numbers, and strength, stopped the progress of this formidable fleet. They took several of the Spanish ships, and dispersed the rest by the means of fire-ships; a storm seconded the efforts of the English. The admiral's ship, called the Invincible, was very near being lost on the coast of Zealand. The duke of Parma's army, which could not put to sea without the assistance of the Spanish fleet, remained in-

* This is a vague expression. Provided those ships were within point blank shot of a battering cannon, twice the thickness here described would not have rendered them impenetrable.

active. Philip's navy, unable to resist the English and the winds, which were always contrary to them, retreated round the North Seas; some were wrecked upon the coast of Zealand, and others upon the Orkney islands, and the coasts of Scotland; and another part was cast away upon the coast of Ireland, where the country people massacred all the soldiers and sailors who had escaped the fury of the tempest, and the viceroy had the inhumanity to hang the rest. In short, of the whole armada only fifty ships returned to Spain, and of thirty thousand men, who had sailed on this expedition, no more than six thousand escaped from shipwreck, and the sword and fire of the enemy.

The duke of Parma, with his fine army of thirty thousand men, had no better success in subduing the Netherlands, than the invincible armada had had in its attempt upon England. The Hollanders, who found a ready defence in their canals, sluices, and narrow causeways, who were fond of liberty to a degree of idolatry, and were all become generals under their princes of Orange, were in a condition to have resisted a much more formidable force.

Philip was the only prince who could have continued formidable after so great a disaster; but America and Asia still supplied him with riches, which made all his neighbours tremble; and, after having failed in his design upon England, he saw himself upon the point of reducing the kingdom of France to a province of Spain.

At the same time that he was making the conquest of Portugal, carrying on the war in

Flanders, and engaged in the expedition against England, he raised that faction in France, known by the name of the Holy League, which subverted the throne, and distracted the nation; and afterwards by sowing dissension in that very league which he had protected, he was thrice on the point of being declared sovereign of France, under the title of protector, with an unlimited power of conferring all posts. His daughter, the infanta Eugenia, was to have been queen, under his direction; and the crown of France was to have been transferred in dowry with her to the person she should marry. This proposal had been actually made by the cabal of sixteen, in the year 1589, after the murder of Henry III. The duke of Mayenne, who was head of the league, had no other way of eluding it, than by saying, "That, as the league had been formed upon account of religion, the title of protector of France could belong only to the pope." Philip's ambassador had carried this negotiation to a great length, before the holding of the estates of Paris, in 1593; insomuch that it was a long time in deliberation, how to abolish the *falic law*: and, at length, the infanta was proposed as queen to the states of Paris.

Philip had insensibly accustomed the French to a dependence upon him; for, on one hand, he supplied the league with sufficient succours to prevent its falling, and, on the other, he assisted his son-in-law, Emanuel, duke of Savoy, with forces against France. He kept troops in pay for him, and assisted him in getting himself declared protector by the parliament of Pro-

Provence ; so that the French, grown familiar with these proceedings, might acknowledge Philip as protector of the whole kingdom.

It is more than probable, that France in the end would have been forced to do it. Philip, in fact, already reigned in Paris by his ambassador, who lavished pensions upon all who were in his interest. He had the Sorbonne, and all the religious orders on his side. His scheme was not to make France a conquered country, as he had done Portugal, but to oblige that nation to request him to govern it. It was with this view, that he dispatched the duke of Parma from the 1590 farther end of the Netherlands to succour Paris, when pushed by the victorious arms of Henry III ; recalled him again, when by his judicious marches he had delivered that capital, without striking a blow ; and, afterwards, when Henry IV. sat down before the city of Rouen, sent the same general to oblige him to 1591 raise the siege. It was very surprising, that, while Philip could thus determine the fate of war in France, Maurice, prince of Orange, and the Hollanders, should be sufficiently powerful to cross his designs, and send succours to Henry IV. they, who, not ten years before, had been considered in Spain only as a parcel of obscure rebels, who could not possibly escape the punishment intended for them. However, they sent a reinforcement of three thousand men to the king of France ; but the duke of Parma nevertheless delivered the city of Rouen, as he had before done that of Paris.

After this Philip recalled him again ; and thus by alternately giving and withdrawing his assistance,

assistance, he always made himself necessary, and spread his snares from the frontiers to the very heart of the kingdom, in order to reduce it by degrees wholly under his dominions. He had already established his power through the greatest part of Britany by force of arms. His son-in-law, the duke of Savoy, had done the same in Provence, and a part of Dauphiny. There was always a road open for the Spanish troops from Arras to Paris, and from Montauban to the river Loire. Philip himself was so thoroughly persuaded that France could not escape him, that in his conferences with the president Jeannin, the duke of Mayenne's envoy, he always used to say, "My city of Paris, my city of Orleans, my town of Rouen."

The court of Rome, though it feared him, was nevertheless obliged to assist him, and he had always the arms of religion in his favour. This cost him only the outside shew of a great zeal for the catholic religion, which served him likewise for a pretext against Geneva, whose destruction he was at that time endeavouring to bring about. In the year 1589 he sent his son-in-law, the duke of Savoy, with an army to reduce Geneva and the neighbouring country. But this rich and powerful monarch always saw his designs frustrated by poor nations, whom a love for liberty exalted above themselves. The Genevans, assisted only by the two cantons of Bearn and Zurich, and three hundred soldiers sent them by Henry IV. bid defiance to all his riches, and the arms of his son-in-law. These same people in the year 1602, rescued their city out of the hands of the duke of Savoy, who surprised it by scalade, in a time of profound

found peace, and was giving it up to plunder. They had even the boldness to punish this attempt of a powerful monarch as a public robbery; and hanged thirteen commissioned officers, who failing of being conquerors, were treated like midnight robbers.

Thus did Philip, without quitting his closet, incessantly carry on a war at one and the same time in the Netherlands, against Maurice, in almost all the provinces of France, against Henry IV. at Geneva and in Switzerland, and against the English and Dutch by sea. But what were the fruits of these mighty projects, which for so long time kept Europe in perpetual alarms? Henry IV. deprived him of all 1596 France in a quarter of an hour, by only going to mass. The English, whom he himself had taught to fight at sea, and who were become as good sailors as the Spaniards, plundered 1596 his possessions in America, destroyed his galleons, and burnt his town of Cadiz. In short, after having once more laid waste the kingdom of France, and taken the city of Amiens by surprize, which was retaken again by the valour of Henry IV. he found himself obliged to conclude a peace at Vervins, and to acknowledge as king of France, a person whom he had never called any other than prince of Bearn. It is likewise particularly worthy of observation, that by this treaty of peace he restored Calais, which had been taken by the archduke Albert, his governor in the Netherlands, during the troubles of France; and that no mention was made in the treaty of Elizabeth's pretended right; who got neither this place, nor the eight-

hundred thousand crowns which she was entitled to by the treaty of Chateau Cambresis.

Philip's power might now be compared to a mighty flood returned again within its banks, after having overflowed the countries far and near. He still remained the first potentate in Europe. Elizabeth and Henry IV. especially the latter, enjoyed a greater share of personal glory: but Philip retained to the last moment of his reign, that powerful ascendancy, which his great dominions and immense riches had given him. Though he had expended three thousand millions of our livres on his despotic cruelty in the Netherlands, and his ambition in France, it had not impoverished him: he found an inexhaustible source of riches in America and the East Indies. It only happened that he enriched Europe by his treasures, without designing it. The sums he had lavished to carry on his intrigues in England, France, and Italy, and what his numerous armies in the Netherlands had cost him, by encreasing the riches of the people whom he wanted to subdue, had encreased the value of commodities almost every where, and Europe became wealthy from the evils premeditated against her.

He had a yearly revenue of near three millions of gold ducats, without being obliged to lay new taxes upon his subjects. This was more than all the monarchs of Christendom had together; and in this respect he was possessed of enough to purchase many kingdoms, though not to conquer them. The magnanimity of Elizabeth, the valour of Henry IV. and the courage of the princes of Orange, triumphed over all his treasures and his intrigues. But

if we except the burning of Cadiz, Spain was, during his reign, always peaceable and happy.

The Spaniards had at that time a distinguished superiority over all other nations: their language was spoken at Paris, Vienna, Milan, and Turin; their fashions, their manner of thinking and writing, captivated the minds of the Italians; and from the time of Charles V. till the beginning of Philip III's reign, the Spaniards were held in greater consideration than any other people.

When Philip made peace with France, he gave the Netherlands and Franche Comté as a dowry to his daughter Clara Eugenia, whom he had not been able to make queen, but as a fief revertible to the crown of Spain in default of her issue.

Soon after this, Philip died at the age of seventy-one, in his vast palace of the Escorial, which he had made a vow to build, in case his generals should win the battle of St. Quintin; as if it was of any consequence to God, whether the constable of Montmorenci or Philibert of Savoy gained the victory, or that the divine blessing could be purchased by magnificent edifices.

Sept. 13,
1598

Posterity has ranked this prince in the number of the most powerful kings of the earth, but not the greatest. He was called the Demon of the South, because, from the centre of Spain, which is the southernmost part of Europe, he had disturbed all the other kingdoms on that continent.

If, after viewing him on the great theatre of the world, we come to consider him in the light of a private man, we shall find him a

rigid and mistrustful master, a cruel lover and husband, and a merciless father.

There was one remarkable circumstance in his domestic life, which still exercises the curiosity of the world: this was the death of his son Don Carlos. No one knows the manner of this prince's death; his body, which lies in the royal vault of the Escorial, appears to have had the head severed from it. But this is pretended to have been done because the leaden case which holds the body, is too small. It has been asserted in the life of the Czar Peter I. that when he resolved to condemn his son to death, he sent to Spain for the acts relating to Don Carlos's trial; but neither the trial nor sentence of this prince have ever appeared. We are as little acquainted with his crime as with the nature of his death *. It is neither proved by facts or
pro-

* If our author had consulted the historians Herrera, Ferreras, Cabrera, and Diego de Colmenarez, he would have had no reason to say the crime of Don Carlos was not known. He was a prince of a very passionate and perverse disposition, deformed, and ungracious: he had been detected in carrying on intrigues with the malecontents in the Low Countries: he was impatient to espouse the arch-duchess Anne of Austria, and the negotiation about this match proving tedious, he concluded that his father thought him unfit for marriage, and incapable of succession. Stimulated by this opinion, he resolved to fly into Germany, and borrowed considerable sums from several noblemen. When he broached the design to Don John of Austria, and solicited his concurrence: but Don John refused to be concerned, and exhorted him to lay aside his intention; yet he still persisting in this scheme, he was abandoned by his confessor, his letters were intercepted by the king, who likewise discovered that the postmaster had received that prince's order to provide horses for a long journey. These were the reasons

probability, that his father had him condemned by the inquisition.

All that we know concerning it is, that in the year 1568, his father came in person and arrested him in his apartment; and that he wrote to the empress his sister, "That he had never discovered any capital vice nor dishonourable action in the prince his son, but that he had caused him to be confined for his own good, and that of the kingdom." He wrote at the same time in quite contrary terms to pope Pius V. to whom he says in his letter of the twentieth of January 1568, "That the force of a vicious disposition had from his tenderest years destroyed in Don Carlos all the effects of his paternal instructions."

After these letters, in which Philip gives an account of the imprisonment of his son, we

reasons which induced his father to secure his person. For this purpose he entered the prince's apartment at midnight, attended by several noblemen and a party of guards. Don Carlos seeing him come in, shrunk under the bed cleaths, crying, "Will your majesty kill me? I am not mad, but the treatment I have met with makes me desperate." The king desired he would make himself easy, declaring that every thing was intended for his good. He then seized all his arms and papers, committed him to the charge of six noblemen of the first rank, and immediately communicated to the pope's nuncio and all the foreign ministers, the motives which had induced him to take this extraordinary step.

St. Evremont, one of those writers who say he was strangled by his father's order, endeavours to throw a veil of ridicule over a very serious transaction. He affirms, that the executioner in going to perform his office, said, *Calia, calia, Senor, todo que se hace es por su bien*. "Don't make any noise sir, this is all for your good." We have in a former volume given account of his death.

meet with no others in which he clears himself of his death ; and this alone, joined to the rumour which prevailed throughout all Europe, affords a strong presumption that he was guilty of the murder of his son. His silence in the midst of the public reports is another foundation for justifying those, who assert that the cause of this shocking affair, was the passion which Don Carlos had conceived for Elizabeth of France, his mother-in-law, and that princess for him. Nothing could appear more probable. Elizabeth had been brought up in a gay and voluptuous court. Philip II. was perpetually engaged in intrigues with the fair sex. Gallantry was the very essence of a Spaniard, and examples of infidelity abounded every where. It was natural for Don Carlos and Elizabeth, who were much of the same age, to have entertained a mutual passion for each other. The sudden death of this princess, which followed soon after that of Don Carlos, confirmed these suspicions. All Europe believed that Philip had sacrificed his wife and his son to emotions of jealousy ; and this belief was the more strengthened, as some time afterwards this same jealous disposition led him to resolve upon the death of the famous Antonio Perez, who was his rival with the princess of Eboli.

These crimes we find publicly charged against him by the prince of Orange, in the famous manifesto which he laid before the tribunal of the public. It is very surprising that Philip did not at least employ some of the venal pens of the kingdom to reply to these accusations ; and that no one in Europe ever offered to re-
fute

fute what the prince of Orange had advanced. These do not indeed amount to absolute proofs, but they are the strongest presumptions against him; and history ought not to neglect reporting them as such, as the judgment of posterity is the only defence we have against successful tyranny.



C H A P. CXXXIX.

Of the ENGLISH under EDWARD VI. MARY,
and ELIZABETH.

THE English had not the same splendor of success with the Spaniards, nor such influence in other courts, nor did they possess that great power which rendered Spain so dangerous to its neighbours; but they acquired a new kind of glory from the ocean, and the extensive maritime trade they carried on. They knew their true element, and that alone made them more happy than all the foreign possessions and conquests of their antient kings. Had these kings reigned in France, England would have been only a subjected province. These people, who were formed with so much difficulty, and who had been so frequently and easily subdued by the Danish and Saxon pirates*,
and

* The English people were never conquered by the Saxons and Danes; for they themselves are the posterity of those very conquerors. What are the English people but the descendants-

and the duke of Normandy, were only the rude instruments under Edward III. and Henry V. of the transient glory of those monarchs: but under Elizabeth they became a powerful, civilized, industrious, laborious, and enterprising nation. The improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation excited their emulation, and they undertook three successive voyages to discover a north-west passage to Japan and China. Drake and Cavendish sailed round the globe, attacking in all places those very Spaniards, who had extended their conquests and trade to both ends of the world. Several private companies of adventurers, who depended entirely on their own stock, carried on a very profitable trade upon the coast of Guinea*. The famous Sir Walter Raleigh†, without receiving the least assistance from the government, founded and improved the colony of New England, in the southern part of America, in the year 1585. By these expeditions they soon formed the British marine in Europe, as sufficiently appears from their fitting out an hundred sail of ships to oppose the invincible armada sent against them by Philip II. going afterwards to insult him upon his own coasts, destroying his ships, and burning his city of Cadiz: at length, grown more formidable, they in 1602 defeated the first fleet

cendants of Saxons, Danes, and Normans? We might with the same reason say that the French were easily conquered by the Franks under Clovis, who were in fact the ancestors of the French people.

* There was no English company that traded to the coast of Guinea in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

† Sir Walter Raleigh established the colony of Virginia, which is at a considerable distance from New England.

which

which Philip III. sent to sea, and from that time acquired a superiority by sea, which they have since maintained, except on some few occasions.

From the first beginning of Elizabeth's reign they applied themselves to manufactures. The Flemish being persecuted by Philip II. removed to London, carrying with them an increase of inhabitants, industry, and riches. This capital, which enjoyed the blessings of peace under Elizabeth, cultivated likewise the liberal arts, which are the badges and consequences of plenty. The names of Spencer and Shakespear, who flourished in those days, are handed down to other nations. In a word, London was enlarged, civilized, and embellished, and in a short time the one half of the little island of Great Britain was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain. The English were the second nation in the world in industry; and in liberty they were the first. During this reign there were public companies established for trading to the Levant and the North. Agriculture now first began to be considered in England as the chief riches of the state, while in Spain they began to neglect this real good for ideal treasures. The gold and silver trade of the new world enriched the king of Spain: but in England the subject was benefited by the sale of the natural commodities. A private merchant of London, called Sir Thomas Gresham, was at that time rich enough to build the Royal Exchange at his own expence, and a college which bears his name. Several other citizens founded hospitals and public schools. Such were the glorious effects produced by liberty

erty in that kingdon, that private persons could do what kings at present can only do in the most happy adminiftration.

The royal revenues in Elizabeth's reign feldom exceeded fix hundred thoufand pounds fterling, and the number of inhabitants in the kingdom were not more than four millions. The fingle kingdom of Spain contained at leaft as many more. And yet Elizabeth defended herfelf with fuccefs, and had at once the glory of affifting Henry IV. to fubdue his kingdom, and the Dutch to eftablifh their republic.

But to acquire a clearer knowledge of the life and reign of Elizabeth, it will be neceffary to take a fhort retrofpect of the reigns of Edward VI. and queen Mary.

Elizabeth was born in 1533, and while yet in her cradle was declared the lawful heiress to the crown of England; a fhort time afterwards, upon her mother's being removed from the throne to the fcaffold, fhe was declared a baftard. Her father, who ended his life in 1547, died like a tyrant, as he had lived. While on his death-bed, he gave orders for executions, and always under the fanktion of juftice. He condemned the duke of Norfolk and his fon to lofe their heads, on no other pretence but that they had the arms of England marked on their plate. The father indeed obtained his pardon*, but the fon was executed. It muft be owned, that as the Englifh are faid to fet little value upon

* The death-warrant was actually figned, and fent to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the duke would have been beheaded next morning, had not the king himfelf died in the interim.

their lives, their governors have treated them according to their taste. Even the reign of the young king Edward VI. son of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, was not exempt from these bloody tragedies. Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, and the king's own uncle, was beheaded for having quarrelled with his brother Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, who was protector of the kingdom during the king's minority; and soon afterwards this duke of Somerset himself suffered the same fate. The reign of Edward VI. which lasted only five years, and during which the nation was, or appeared to be of the protestant religion, was a scene of seditions and troubles. When he died he left his crown to neither of his sisters Mary or Elizabeth, but to lady Jane Grey, a descendant of Henry VII. and grand-daughter to the widow of Lewis XII. and one Brandon, a private gentleman, who had been created duke of Suffolk. This Jane Grey was wife to lord Guilford, who was son to the duke of Northumberland, a nobleman of great power in Edward's time. Edward's will, by which he bequeathed the throne to lady Jane Grey, only proved the means of bringing her to a scaffold. 1553 She was proclaimed queen in London; but Mary's interest and her lawful rights, as being daughter of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon, prevailed; and the first thing which this queen did after signing her contract of marriage with Philip II. was to condemn her rival to death, who was a young lady of seventeen, full of beauty and innocence, and who had been guilty of no crime but that of being named in Edward's will for his successor. It availed her not

not that she made a voluntary resignation of her fatal dignity, which she held but nine days: she was led to execution with her husband, father, and father-in-law. This was the third queen of England who had mounted the scaffold within less than twenty years. The protestant religion, in which she had been educated, was the principal cause of her untimely fate. In this revolution the arm of the executioner was much more employed than that of the soldiery; and all these cruelties were committed by act of parliament. Every nation has had its times of horror and bloodshed; but more illustrious lives have been lost upon the scaffold in England than in all the rest of Europe besides. It has been the character of this nation to commit murders by form of law; and the gates of London have been loaded with human skulls, like the walls of the temple of Mexico.



C H A P. CXL.

Of Queen ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH was confined in prison by her sister upon her accession to the throne. This princess, who, after she came to be queen, refused the hand of Philip II. now wanted to espouse Courtney earl of Devonshire; and it appears by letters of hers yet remaining, that she had a strong inclination for this nobleman. A match of this kind would not have been at all extraordinary; we have seen that lady Jane Grey,

Grey, though declared heiress to the crown, had married lord Guilford. Mary, queen dowager of France, descended from the bed of Lewis XII. to that of Charles Brandon. All the royal family of England sprung from a private gentleman, named Tudor, who had married the widow of Henry V. daughter to Charles VI. king of France; and in France, before its kings had attained their height of power, the widow of Lewis the Fat made no difficulty of espousing Matthew de Montmorenci.

Elizabeth, while a prisoner, and under a state of continual persecution from her sister Mary, employed these moments of her disgrace to the noblest purposes; she improved her mind, she learned the languages and sciences; but of all the arts in which she excelled, the chief was that of dissimulation, by which she kept fair with her sister, with the catholics, and with the protestants, and learned how to reign.

No sooner was she proclaimed queen, than she found herself strongly solicited ¹⁵⁵⁹ in marriage by her brother-in-law, Philip II. Had she listened to his proposals, France and Holland would have been in danger of being overwhelmed; but she detested both the religion and person of Philip, and resolved to indulge the vanity of being beloved, and the happiness of being independent. Having been imprisoned by a catholic sister, her first thoughts, upon mounting the throne, were to restore the protestant religion in her kingdom. However, she permitted a catholic bishop to perform the ceremony of her coronation, that she might not sour the minds of the people at first. I shall here observe, that she went from Westminster to.

to the Tower of London in an open chariot, followed by an hundred others. Not that coaches were at that time in use; it was only an occasional piece of state*.

Immediately after her coronation she convoked a parliament, which settled the religion of England such as it now is, and vested the supremacy, first fruits, and tenths, in the sovereign.

Elizabeth then had the title of supreme head of the church of England. Several writers, especially the Italians, have thought this a ridiculous dignity in a woman; but they might have considered that this woman reigned; that she was in possession of the rights annexed to the crown by the laws of the country; that in former times the sovereigns of all the known nations in the world had the superintendence in religious matters; that the Roman emperors were sovereign pontiffs; that although at present there are several countries where the state is governed by the church, there are others where the church is governed by the state; and lastly, that it is not more ridiculous for a queen of England to have the nomination of an archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of the whole kingdom, and to prescribe laws to him, than for an abbes of Fontevrault to nominate priors and curates, and give them her benediction; in a word, that every country has its customs.

The church of England retained whatever was most solemn and august in the Romish ceremonies, and most austere in the Lutheran dis-

* Coaches were first introduced into England by Henry Fitzallen, earl of Arundel, in the reign of Elizabeth.

cipline. I shall observe, that out of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergy, which were at that time in England, there were but fourteen bishops, fifty canons, and eighty curates, who lost their livings for remaining catholics, and refusing to subscribe to the reformation. When we reflect that the English nation had changed its religion four several times since the reign of Henry VIII. we are surprised that a people, who enjoy so great liberty, should ever have been subdued, or that, possessed of so much resolution, they should ever have been so fickle. The English in this resemble those Swiss cantons, who waited for their magistrates to determine what should be their creed*. An act of parliament is every thing with the English; they love the laws, and there is no governing them, but by laws made by a parliament which pronounces, or seems to pronounce, by its own authority.

No one was persecuted for being a Roman catholic; but those who went about to disturb the peace of the kingdom through a principle of conscience, were severely punished. The Guises, who at that time made a handle of religion to establish their own power in France, made use of the same methods to set their niece, Mary Stewart queen of Scotland, on the English throne. Masters of the finances and armies of France, they sent money and troops over to Scotland, under pretence of assisting the catholics of that kingdom against the protestants. Mary Stewart, who was married to Francis II. king of France, openly took upon

* See Chap. cvii. Vol. iii.

her the title of queen of England, as being descended from Henry VIII. All the English, Scotch, and Irish catholics, were in her interest. Elizabeth was not yet so firmly settled on the throne, but that religious cabals might have shaken her authority. However, she dis-

1560 perished this first storm, sent an army to the relief of the Scotch protestants, and obliged the queen regent of Scotland, Mary's mother, to consent by treaty to obey laws of her dictating, and to send the French troops home within twenty days.

Francis II. dying, she obliged Mary Stewart to quit the title of queen of England. By her intrigues she prevailed upon the parliament of Edinburgh to establish the reformed religion in Scotland; and by this artful management she brought into her interest a country from which she had every thing to fear.

Scarcely was she freed from these inquietudes, when she received fresh alarms of a more dangerous kind from Philip II. This monarch was indispensibly her friend, so long as Mary Stewart, as heiress to Elizabeth, had a prospect of uniting in her own person the crowns of France, England, and Scotland; but Francis II. being now dead, and his widow returned helpless into Scotland, Philip had only the protestants to fear, and therefore became an implacable enemy to Elizabeth.

He now privately raises commotions in Ireland, which Elizabeth as quickly suppresses. He protects the catholic league in France, which proved so fatal to the royal family, and she assists the opposite party. The republic of Holland finds itself hard pressed by Philip's forces,

forces, and Elizabeth saves it from ruin. Formerly the kings of England were wont to drain their country of men to settle themselves on the throne of France; but interests and times were now so changed, that the queen of England sent repeated succours to Henry IV. to assist him in conquering his patrimony. With these succours Henry at length laid siege to Paris; and had it not been for the duke of Parma, or the king's extreme indulgence to the besieged, he would have fixed the protestant religion in the kingdom. This is what Elizabeth had greatly at heart. It was natural for her to wish to see her endeavours succeed, and not to lose all the fruits of the great expence she had been at. Besides, she had conceived a mortal aversion to the catholic religion ever since she had been excommunicated by the two popes, Pius V. and Sixtus V. who had declared her unworthy and incapable to govern; and the more Philip II. declared himself the protector of this religion, the more she became its implacable enemy.

No protestant divine could be more afflicted than Elizabeth, when she heard that Henry IV. had renounced the reformed doctrines. Her letter to that prince is very remarkable: "You offer me your friendship, as to your sister. I am certain I have deserved it, having paid dearly for it; but of this I should not repent me, had you not changed your father. I can no longer be your sister by the father's side, for I shall always have a greater affection for my own father, than for him who has adopted you." This letter serves at once to shew her heart, her understanding, and her forcible manner of expressing herself in a foreign language.

Not-

Notwithstanding this hatred to the Roman catholic religion, it is certain that she did not deal cruelly by the catholics of her kingdom, as Mary had done during her reign by the 1581 protestants. It is true, that the two Jesuits, Creighton and Campian, with some others, were hanged, at the same time that the duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. was preparing every thing in London for his marriage with the queen, which at length proved abortive; but these Jesuits were unanimously convicted of conspiracy and sedition, of which they were accused; and sentence was given against them upon the testimony of witnesses. They might have fallen innocent victims, but then the queen was likewise innocent of their death, as she acted only by the laws.

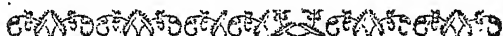
Several persons in France still imagine that Elizabeth put the earl of Essex to death merely from a fit of jealousy; and found their belief on a tragedy and a novel. But those who have read any thing know, that the queen was at that time seventy-eight years of age, and that the earl of Essex, finding the queen grown old, and hoping that her authority would decline with her years, had been guilty of an act of open rebellion, for which he was afterwards tried by his peers, who passed sentence of death upon him and his accomplices.

The more exact administration of justice during Elizabeth's reign, than under that of any of her predecessors, proved one of the firmest supports of her government. The revenues of the state were employed only in its defence.

She had favourites, but she enriched none of them at the expence of the nation. Her people
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were her chief favourites; not that she really loved them, for who can love the people? But she was sensible that her glory and safety depended upon behaving towards them as if she did love them.

Elizabeth would have enjoyed an unblemished fame, had she not sullied a reign, in other respects so glorious, by the murder of her sister Mary Stewart, a murder which she ventured to perpetrate with the sacred sword of justice.



C H A P. CXLI.

OF MARY STEWART, Queen of SCOTS.

IT is a difficult matter to come at the whole truth in disputes between private people, and how much more so in those of crowned heads, where so many secret springs are employed, and where both parties equally make use of truth and falsehood, as best suits their purpose. Cotemporary writers are in these cases generally suspected of partiality, and are for the most part rather advocates on one side, than the faithful depositories of history. I must then confine myself to authenticated facts only, amidst the perplexed accounts given of this important and fatal event.

Mary and Elizabeth were rivals in all respects: they were rivals in nations, in crowns, in religion, in understanding, and in beauty. Mary was far less powerful, and not so much

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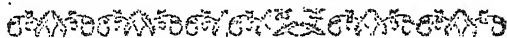
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trials of herself as Elizabeth, nor had she her unshaken resolution and depth of politics; in a word, she was superior to her only in the charms of her person, which contributed not a little to her subsequent misfortunes. The queen of Scots encouraged the catholic faction in England, and the queen of England still more powerfully supported the protestant party in Scotland. Elizabeth gained so much the ascendancy by her intrigues, that for a long time she prevented Mary from concluding a second nuptials where she had an inclination.

However Mary, in despite of the cabals of her rival, and of the Scottish parliament, which was wholly made up of protestants, and headed by her natural brother the earl of Murray, marries Henry Stewart earl of Darnly, 1565 who was her cousin, and a catholic like herself. Elizabeth upon this tampers in private with Mary's principal protestant subjects, and excites them to take up arms. The queen of Scots pursues the rebels in person, and obliges them to retreat into England. Thus far every thing seemed to favour her and confound her rival.

Mary had a soft and tender heart; this was the beginning of all her misfortunes. An Italian musician, named David Rizzo, or Ricio, had insinuated himself too far into her good graces. He played well upon several instruments, and had a very agreeable bass voice. A proof that the Italians were at that time in possession of the empire of music, and exercised their profession with a kind of exclusive right in all courts, is, that Mary's whole band was Italian. Another proof that foreign courts make

make an indiscriminate use of any one who is in credit, is, that this Rizzo was a pensioner to the pope. He was greatly instrumental in the queen's marriage with lord Darnly, and not less so in that dislike she afterwards took to him. Darnly, who had only the name of king, and saw himself despised by his wife, grew incensed and jealous; and one evening that he knew the queen was in her apartment, he took with him a few armed men, and going up a pair of private stairs, enters her chamber, where she was at supper with Rizzo and one of the ladies of her court. They overturned the table, and slew Rizzo before the queen's eyes, who in vain attempted to cover his body with her own. Mary was at that time five months gone with child: the sight of the naked and bloody weapons made so strong an impression on her, that it was communicated to the infant in her womb. This was James VI. afterwards king of England and Scotland, who was born four months after this melancholy affair, and who all his life-time trembled at the sight of a drawn sword, in despite of his utmost endeavours to overcome this disposition of his organs. So great is the force of nature, and so powerfully does she act by ways impenetrable to us!

The queen soon resumed her authority, was reconciled to the earl of Murray, prosecuted the murderers of Rizzo, and entered into a fresh engagement with the earl of Bothwell. These new amours produced the death of the king her husband. It is said an attempt was made to poison him, but that the strength of his constitution got the better of the drugs they had given him:

however, it is certain that he was mur-

1567

dered

dered in Edinburgh, in a lone house, from whence the queen had previously removed most of her valuable effects. As soon as the murder was committed, the house was blown up with gun-powder, and the body was deposited near that of David Rizzo, in the vault belonging to the royal family. The parliament and the whole nation openly charged Bothwell with this murder; and, in the midst of the general cry for justice, Mary contrived to have herself carried off by this assassin*, whose hands were yet stained with her husband's blood, and was afterwards publicly married to him. What was most extraordinary in this horrid adventure was, that Bothwell had at that time a wife; and, in order to bring about a separation, he obliged her to accuse him of adultery, and made the archbishop of St. Andrew's pronounce sentence of divorce between them, agreeable to the custom of the country.

Bothwell was possessed of all that insolence which attends great wickedness. He assembled the principal noblemen of the kingdom, and made them sign a writing, by which it was declared, in express terms, that the queen could not dispense with marrying him, as he had carried her away, and had lain with her. All these facts are authenticated: the letters which Mary is said to have wrote to Bothwell have indeed been disputed, but they carry such strong marks of truth, that there is hardly any doubt-

* We wish our author had been at more pains in enquiring into the particulars of this affair, before he had adopted opinions so unfavourable to the memory of this unfortunate princess,

ing their reality. These complicated villainies effectually roused the Scots; Mary was abandoned by her army, and obliged to yield herself prisoner to the confederates. Bothwell fled into the Orkneys; the queen was compelled to resign the crown to her son, but was allowed to appoint a regent during his minority. She named her brother the earl of Murray: this nobleman however reproached her in the bitterest manner with her past conduct. At length she escaped from her confinement; Murray's harsh and severe temper had 1568 procured her a new party. She found means to raise six thousand men, but she was soon defeated and obliged to take shelter on the English borders. Elizabeth at first gave her an honourable reception at Carlisle, but privately intimated to her, that as she was accused by the public voice of the murder of the king her husband, it behoved her to vindicate herself, and that she might depend upon her protection, if she should be found innocent.

Elizabeth now made herself arbiter between Mary and the Scottish regency. The regent came himself in person to Hampton-court, and consented to deposite the papers containing the proofs against his sister, in 1569 the hands of commissioners to be appointed by the queen of England. The unfortunate Mary on the other hand, who was still detained prisoner in Carlisle, accused the earl of Murray himself as author of that murder which he had laid to her charge; and excepted against the English commissioners, unless the ambassadors of France and Spain were joined with them. Nevertheless, Elizabeth still caused this unac-

countable trial to be carried on, and indulged herself in the cruel pleasure of seeing her rival pine away in confinement, without coming to any determination concerning her fate. She was not Mary's judge, she owed her an asylum, but she caused her to be removed to Tewksbury, where she was little better than a prisoner.

These disasters of the royal house of Scotland were reflected back upon the nation, which was rent by factions that arose from anarchy. The earl of Murray was murdered by one of these factions, which sheltered itself under the authority of Mary's name. After this murder, the insurgents entered England, and laid waste the borders with fire and sword.

1570 Elizabeth presently sent an army to chastise these disturbers of the peace, and keep Scotland in awe. She likewise procured the regency of that kingdom to be given to the earl of Lenox, brother to the murdered king*. Thus far she acted according to the rules of justice and true greatness. At the same time a conspiracy was formed in England for delivering Mary from her confinement, and pope Pius V. very indiscreetly caused a bull to be published in London, by which he excommunicated Elizabeth, and released her subjects from their oath of allegiance. This step, which was intended to deliver Mary, only hastened her downfall. The two queens entered into mutual negotiations; the one from her throne, and the other from a prison. Mary does not seem to have

* He was duke of Lennox, and father to the murdered king.

behaved with that flexibility which the situation of her affairs required. Scotland at this time was weltering in blood; the catholics and protestants had raised a civil war in the kingdom. The French ambassador and the archbishop of St. Andrew's were made prisoners, the latter of whom was hanged upon the evidence of his own confessor, who swore that this prelate had accused himself to him of being an accomplice in the murder of the late king. 1571

It was Mary's greatest misfortune to have a number of friends in her disgrace. The duke of Norfolk, who was a catholic†, wanted to marry her in hopes of a revolution, and reckoning on Mary's right of succession to Elizabeth. Several parties were formed in her favour in London, which were weak indeed, but were capable of being strengthened by forces from Spain, and the intrigues of the court of Rome. These machinations however cost the duke of Norfolk his head, who was 1572 sentenced to die by his peers for having solicited succours from the pope and the king of Spain, in Mary's behalf. The duke of Norfolk's death rivetted this unhappy princess's chains; her long misfortunes had not yet discouraged those of her party in London, who were strongly supported by the princes of Guise, the pope, the Jesuits, and the court of Spain.

The great point in view was to set Mary at liberty, and place her on the English throne, and with her restore the catholic religion. A conspiracy was formed against Elizabeth. Philip had

* The duke of Norfolk was a professed and zealous protestant.

1556 already begun to prepare for his invasion. The queen of England caused fourteen of the conspirators to be put to death, and brought Mary, who was her equal, to a public trial, as if she had been her subject. Forty-two members of parliament and five of the judges were sent to examine her in Fotheringay castle; she protested against their proceedings, and refused to make any reply. Never was trial so irregularly carried on, nor so insufficient a sentence; she was presented only with copies of her letters, and no originals. They made use of the deposition of her secretaries, without confronting them with her; they pretended to convict her upon the evidence of three conspirators, who had been executed, though their sentence ought to have been deferred till they had been examined in Mary's presence. In a word, though they had even proceeded with all the forms which justice requires for the lowest of the people, had they proved that Mary solicited for aid and revenge wherever she had a prospect of succeeding, they could not with equity have pronounced her criminal. Elizabeth had no other jurisdiction over her than that of the strong over the weak and unfortunate.

At length, after eighteen years imprisonment, in a country which she had imprudently chosen for an asylum, Mary was beheaded in an apartment of the prison hung with black. Elizabeth was sensible that she had committed a bad act, but she added to the odium of it by attempting to impose upon the public, (who were not however to be so deceived) with an affectation of sorrow

forrow for a person whom she had put to death, by pretending that her ministers had exceeded her orders, and by imprisoning the secretary of state, who, she said, had been too precipitate in executing a warrant signed by herself. Europe detested her cruelty and dissimulation. Her reign was esteemed, but her character was held in abhorrence. But what renders her still more condemnable is, her not having been forced to this barbarity. It may even be said, that in Mary's person she had a security against the attempts of her adherents.

Though this action be an indelible stain upon the memory of Elizabeth, it is a fanatical weakness to canonize Mary Stewart as a martyr of religion, who was only a martyr of adultery, of the murder of her husband, and of her own imprudence. In her failings and misfortunes she perfectly resembled Joan of Naples; they were both handsome and sprightly, both thro' the frailty of their sex drawn to commit an atrocious deed, and both put to death by their relations. History frequently presents us with a repetition of the same misfortunes, the same flagitious deeds, and one crime punished by another.

C H A P. CXLII.

OF FRANCE, towards the End of the sixteenth Century, under FRANCIS II.

WHILE all Europe was alarmed at the excessive power of Spain, and England made the second figure by opposing that monarchy, France was grown weak, divided into factions, and in danger of being dismembered, so that it was far from having any influence or credit in Europe. The civil wars of this Kingdom had reduced it to a state of dependence on all its neighbours. Those times of fury, abjectness, and misery, have furnished more matter for history than is contained in all the Roman annals. And what were the causes of all those misfortunes? religion, ambition, the want of good laws, and a mal-administration.

Henry II. by his severity against the sectaries, and especially by the condemnation of the counsellor of parliament, Anne du Bourg, who was executed after the king's death by order of the Guises, made more Calvinists in France than there were in all Swisserland and Geneva. Had these people made their appearance in a time like that of Lewis XII. when the court of France was at war with the papal see, they might possibly have met with some indulgence; but they appeared precisely at the time when Henry II. stood in need of pope Paul IV. to assist him in disputing the possession of Naples and Sicily with Spain, and while these two powers were in alliance with the Turk against the

the house of Austria. It was therefore thought necessary to sacrifice them. The clergy, who were powerful at court, and were in fear of losing their temporalities and authority, persecuted them; and policy, interest, and zeal, concurred in their ruin. The state might have tolerated them, as Elizabeth tolerated the catholics in England, and have preserved a number of good subjects, by allowing them liberty of conscience. It would have been of little concern to the government in what manner they performed their devotion, provided they submitted themselves to the established laws: whereas, by persecuting them, they made them rebels.

The untimely fate of Henry II. was the signal of thirty years civil wars. An infant king governed by foreigners, and the jealousy of the princes of the blood and high officers of the crown against the family of Guise, on account of their great credit in the kingdom, began the subversion of France.

The famous conspiracy of Amboise was the first of the kind we hear of in this country. To form leagues, and then to break them, to pass hastily from one extreme to another, to be violent in their passions and sudden in their repentance, seemed hitherto to have formed the character of the Gauls, who, when they took the name of Franks, and afterwards of French, did not change their manners. But in this conspiracy there was a degree of boldness which equalled it to that of Cataline, with an artful management, a depth of contrivance, and a profound secrecy like that of the Sicilian Vespers,

pers †, or the Pazzi * of Florence. Lewis prince of Condé was the soul that secretly animated this plot, but in so artful a manner, that tho' all France was convinced that he was at the head of it, no one could positively convict him of being so.

It was peculiar to this conspiracy, that it was in one sense excuseable, as being undertaken to wrest the government out of the hands of Francis duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, who were both of them foreigners, and held the king in subjection, the nation in slavery, and the princes of the blood and officers of the crown at a distance: and in another highly criminal, as it attacked the rights of a king who was at age, and empowered by the laws to chuse the depositories of his authority.

It has never been proved that there was any design of killing the Guises; but as they would doubtless have made a resistance, their deaths were inevitable. Five hundred gentlemen, all well seconded, and a thousand resolute soldiers, headed by thirty chosen captains, were all to assemble from the several provinces of the kingdom on an appointed day at Amboise, where the court then kept its residence. Kings were not in those times surrounded by so numerous a guard as they are at present. The regiment of guards was not formed till the reign of

† See Chap. xlvii. Vol. ii.

* This happened in 1478. Francis Pazzi, one of the chief conspirators against the family of Medicis, killed Julian de Medicis, and was afterwards hanged by the people of Florence, together with the rest of his accomplices. See Machiavel's hist. Florent. lib. viii.

Charles IX. Two hundred archers were the most that attended Francis II. the other kings of Europe had no more. When the constable of Montmorenci afterwards came to Orleans, where the Guises had placed a new guard about the court upon the death of Francis II. he dismissed the new raised soldiers, and threatened to have them all hanged as enemies to the state, who planted a barrier between the king and his people.

The simplicity of the ancient times still continued in the palaces of our kings, but they were by this means more exposed to resolute attempts. It was an easy matter to seize the royal family, the ministers, and even the king himself: there was almost a certainty of success. The secret was kept inviolable by all the conspirators for near six months; at length it was discovered by the indiscretion of one of the chiefs named Renaudie, who divulged it in confidence to a lawyer of Paris, who discovered the whole plot, which nevertheless was carried into execution. The conspirators met at the place appointed as if nothing had happened; religious enthusiasm furnished them with a desperate obstinacy. These gentlemen were for the most part Calvinists, who made a duty of revenging their persecuted brethren. Lewis prince of Condé had openly embraced the new doctrine, because the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine were catholics. This attempt was set on foot to bring about a revolution in church and state.

The Guises had hardly time to get together a body of troops. There were 1560 not fifteen thousand men enrolled in all the king-

kingdom: but they soon mustered a sufficient number to exterminate the conspirators, who, as they arrived in detached parties, were easily defeated. La Renaudie was killed fighting, and many others died like him, with their arms in their hands. Those who were taken died by the hands of executioners, and, for a whole month, nothing was to be seen in Paris but bloody scaffolds, and gibbets loaded with dead bodies.

The conspiracy thus discovered, and the authors of it punished, only served to increase that power it was meant to overthrow. Francis de Guise was invested with the authority of the ancient mayors of the palace, under the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But this very authority, and the restless ambition of his brother the cardinal, who endeavoured to introduce the inquisition into France, stirred up all ranks in the kingdom against them, and proved the sources of fresh troubles.

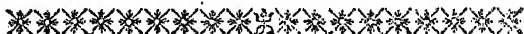
The Calvinists, who were still privately encouraged by the prince of Condé, took up arms in several provinces. The power of the Guises must certainly have been very formidable, seeing that neither Condé nor his brother, Anthony king of Navarre, father to Henry IV. nor the famous admiral Coligni, nor his brother d'Andelot, colonel-general of the infantry, dared to declare themselves openly. The prince of Condé was the first head of a party that ever seemed to wage civil war with fear and apprehension; he seemed ready to strike a blow, and would afterwards draw back again; and, imagining that he could always keep fair with a court that he meant to destroy,

he was so imprudent as to go to Fontainebleau in the character of a courtier, when he ought to have been in that of a general at the head of his party. The Guises caused him to be arrested at Orleans, and arraigned before the privy council and commissioners chosen out of the parliament, notwithstanding his privilege as a prince of the blood exempted him from being tried by any but the court of peers, and the parliament assembled. But what avails privilege against superior strength? or what indeed was a privilege of which there had been no precedent but in the violation of it, in the case of the criminal process formerly issued against the duke d'Alençon?

The prince of Condé then was condemned to be beheaded. The famous 1560
chancellor de l'Hôpital, a noble legislator, at a time when good laws were most wanted, and an intrepid philosopher, in an age of enthusiasm and fury, refused to sign the sentence. This example of undaunted courage was followed by the count de Sancerre, one of the privy council. Nevertheless the decree was going to be published, and the prince of Condé was on the point of falling by the hand of the executioner, when on a sudden the young king Francis II. who had been ill for a long time, and was infirm from his cradle, died at the age of seventeen, leaving his brother Charles, who was then only ten, an exhausted kingdom, rent in pieces by factions.

The death of Francis proved the deliverance of Condé; he was presently released from his confinement, after a feigned reconciliation had been effected between him and the Guises,
which

which was no more than the seal of revenge and hatred, as indeed what else could it be. The estates were now assembled at Orleans, without whom nothing could be done in such a situation of affairs. These estates conferred the guardianship of the young king Charles IX. and the government of the kingdom on Catherine of Medicis, but not under the name of regent; they did not even give her the title of majesty, which had but very lately been assumed by kings. There are several letters from the sieur de Bourdeilles to Henry III. in which he only styles that prince "Your highness."



C H A P. CXLIII.

Of FRANCE, during the Minority of CHARLES IX. and the Reign of HENRY III.

DURING every royal minority, the ancient constitution of a kingdom always recovers some part of its vigour, at least for a time, like a family assembled together upon the death of the father. A general assembly of the states was held at Orleans, and afterwards at Pontoise: these estates deserve to have their memories preserved, for the perpetual separation they made between the sword and the long robe. This distinction was unknown in the Roman empire, even to the time of Constantine; their magistrates understood how to conduct armies, and their generals could decide causes.

causes. The sword and the law were, in like manner, lodged in the same hands in almost all the nations of Europe, till towards the beginning of the fourteenth century. By little and little these two professions were separated in Spain and France; though not absolutely so in the latter, notwithstanding the parliaments were composed only of the gentlemen of the long robe. The jurisdiction of the bailiffs, who were swordsmen, still continued the same as it was in several of the provinces of Germany, and on the frontiers of that empire. The estates of Orleans, convinced that the swordsmen could not confine themselves to the study of the law, took from them the administration of justice, and conferred it on the gownsmen, who were before only their lieutenants, or deputies. Thus they, who from their original institution had always been judges, ceased to be so any longer.

The famous chancellor de l'Hôpital had the principal share in bringing about this change, which was effected at the time of the nation's greatest weakness, and has since contributed to strengthen the hands of the sovereigns, by dividing for ever two professions which might, if united, have formed a powerful counterpoise to the authority of the ministry. Some have thought since, that the nobles could not preserve the charge of the laws entrusted to them; but such should reflect that the English house of lords, which is composed of the only nobles properly so called in that kingdom, is a fixed body of magistracy, who make the laws and administer justice. When we see these great changes in the constitution of a state, and observe other neighbouring governments who have

have not undergone these changes in the same circumstances, we may evidently conclude that the manners and genius of these people must have been different from those of the former.

At this assembly of the general estates, it appeared how very faulty the administration had been. The king was indebted upwards of forty millions of livres; money was wanted, and there was none to be had; this was the true cause of the troubles of France. Had Catherine of Medicis had wherewithal to have purchased good servants, and to have paid an army, the different factions which distracted the state might have been easily kept under by the royal authority. The queen-mother found herself placed between the catholics and the protestants, the Condés and the Guises. The constable of Montmorenci was at the head of a separate faction. Division reigned in the court, the city, and the provinces. Catherine could only negotiate, instead of reigning. Her maxim of dividing all parties, that she might be sole mistress, increased the troubles and misfortunes of the state. She began by appointing a conference to be held between the catholics and the protestants at Poissy*, which was subjecting the old religion to arbitration, and giving a great degree of credit to the Calvinist party, by setting them up as disputants against those who thought themselves rather entitled to be their judges.

* A little town in the isle of France, on the river Seine, about five leagues below Paris. It was the birth-place of St. Lewis, and formerly the royal residence.

At this time, when Theodore Beza and other protestant divines came to Poissi, in order to maintain their doctrines in a public manner before the queen, and a court who as publicly sung Marot's psalms, cardinal Ferrara arrived in France as legate from pope Paul IV. but being grandson to Alexander VI. by the mother's side, he was more despised on account of his birth, than respected for his place and merit; insomuch, that his cross-bearer was insulted even by the lacqueys of the court. Prints of his grandfather were fixed up in the public places through which he was to pass, with an account of the wicked and scandalous actions of his life. The legate brought with him one Laines, general of the order of Jesuits, who did not understand a word of French, and disputed at the conference in Italian, which tongue Catherine of Medicis had made familiar to the court, and it began to have a considerable influence on the French language itself. This Jesuit had the boldness to tell the queen at the conference, that she had no right to call this assembly, and that in so doing she had usurped the pope's authority. Nevertheless he disputed in this assembly which he found fault with, and said, in speaking of the eucharist, "That God was in place of the bread and wine, like a king who makes himself his own ambassador." This childish comparison excited a smile of contempt, as his insolent behaviour to the queen did the general indignation. Trifling things sometimes occasion great mischiefs; and in the situation of minds at that time, every thing helped the cause of the new religion.

January, 1562. The consequence of this conference, and of the intrigues that followed upon it, was the issuing of an edict, permitting the protestants to have preaching places without the city, and this edict of pacification proved the source of the civil wars. The duke of Guise, though removed from his post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, still wanted to be its master: he was already connected with Philip II. and was looked upon by the people as the protector of the catholic religion. The grandees in those times never travelled without a numerous retinue; and not as they do now, in a post-chaise with two or three footmen only; they were always attended by an hundred horsemen: this was all their magnificence, for three or four of them lay in one bed; and when they were in waiting at court, they had only a sorry apartment to live in, without any other furniture than a few chests. The duke of Guise, as he was going through Vassy, a town on the borders of Champagne, came upon some Calvinists, who, in consequence of the privilege granted them by the edict, were singing psalms after their manner in a barn. His servants fell upon and insulted these poor people, killed about sixty of them, and wounded and dispersed the rest. Upon this there was a general rising of the protestants in almost every part of the kingdom, and the nation became divided between the prince of Condé and the duke of Guise. Catherine de Medicis fluctuated between both; nothing was seen on all sides but killing and plundering. The queen was then at Paris with the king her son, where, finding herself deprived

prived of all authority, she wrote to the prince of Condé to come to her deliverance. This fatal letter was an order for continuing the civil war, which was prosecuted with the greatest inhumanity. Every town was become a fortified post, and every street a field of battle.

On one side were the duke of Guise and his brother, united by convenience 1562 with the faction of the constable of Montmorency, who was master of the king's person. On the other the prince of Condé, joined by the Coligni party. Anthony king of Navarre, the first prince of the blood, a weak and irresolute man, who knew not of what religion or party he was; jealous of his brother Condé, and obliged to serve against his will the duke of Guise, whom he detested, was dragged to the siege of Rouen, together with the queen-mother, Catherine of Medicis: he was killed at this siege, and deserves a place in history on no other account than that of being father to the great Henry IV.

The war, which continued without interruption till the peace of Vervins, was carried on after much the same manner as in the times of anarchy, at the decline of the second race, and the beginning of the third. There were very few regular troops on either side, excepting some companies of men at arms, belonging to the principal chiefs. Plunder was their only pay; and all that the protestant faction could scrape together, they employed in bringing over German troops to complete the destruction of the kingdom. The king of Spain on his side sent some few soldiers to the catholics, in order
to

to feed a flame which he hoped to turn to his own advantage, and thirteen Spanish companies marched to the relief of Montluc in Saintonge. These were, without contradiction, the most fatal times that the French monarchy had ever experienced.

1562 The first pitched battle between the catholics and the reformed was fought near Dreux *, wherein not only Frenchman engaged against Frenchman, but the royal infantry was chiefly composed of Swiss, as the protestant army was of Germans. This battle was remarkable by both generals being made prisoners; Montmorenci who commanded the king's army in quality of constable, and the prince of Condé who was at the head of the reformed army. The duke of Guise, who was second in command to the constable, gained the battle, and Condé's lieutenant, Coligni, saved his army. The duke of Guise was then at the height of his glory; always victorious wherever he came, and always repairing the errors made by the constable, his rival in authority, but not in fame. He was the idol of the catholics, and master of the court; he was affable, generous, and in every sense the first man in the kingdom.

1563 After his victory at Dreux, he went and laid siege to Orleans. This city was the center of the protestant faction, and he was on the point of reducing it when he was assassinated. The murder of this great man was

* A city in the isle of France, and one of the oldest in the kingdom; it is about forty miles distant from Paris.

the first which fanaticism had caused to be committed. These very Huguenots, who under Francis I. and Henry II. thought of nothing but worshipping God and suffering what they called martyrdom, were become the most furious enthusiasts, and studied the scriptures, only to find out examples of assassinations. Poltrot de Meré imagined himself another Aod, sent from God to kill a Philistine chief. This is so true, that his party made verses in his praise; and I myself have seen a print of him with an inscription extolling his crime to the skies. And yet his crime was that of a coward, for he pretended to be a deserter from the reformed party, and watched an opportunity to stab the duke of Guise into the back. He had the impudence to charge the admiral de Coligni, and Theodore de Beza, with having at least connived at his design; but he varied so much in his depositions, that he destroyed his own imposture. Coligni even offered to go to Paris to be confronted with this miscreant, and requested the queen to suspend the execution till the truth could be cleared up. It must be acknowledged that the admiral, tho' the leader of a faction, had never been guilty of the least action that could warrant a suspicion of so black a treachery.

It was not sufficient that the Spaniards, Germans, and Swiss were called in to help the French to destroy each other, the English were likewise sent for to join in the general ruin. Three thousand of them had been introduced by the Huguenots into Havre-de-grace, a seaport town built by Francis I. but the constable of Montmorenci, who had been exchanged for
the

the prince of Condé, after great difficulty drove them out again. These troubles were now succeeded by a momentary peace; Condé was reconciled to the court, but his brother the admiral still continued at the head of a powerful party in the provinces.

In the mean time Charles IX. having attained the age of thirteen years and one day, held his bed of justice, not in the parliament of Paris, but in that of Rouen; ¹⁵⁶³ and it is remarkable, that his mother, when she resigned her commission of regent, kneeled to him.

A scene passed on this occasion, which is entirely without example; Odet de Châtillon, cardinal bishop of Beauvais, had, like his brother, changed to the reformed religion, and had taken a wife. The pope upon this struck him out of the list of cardinals, and he himself expressed a contempt for the title; but, in order to brave the pope, he assisted at the ceremony in his cardinal's habit; his wife was allowed to be seated in presence of the king and queen, as the wife of a peer of the realm; and was sometimes called "The countess of Beauvais, and sometimes "the cardinal's lady."

France was full of absurdities equally great. The confusion of the civil wars had destroyed all kind of government and decency. The church-livings were almost all in the possession of laymen; an abbey or a bishopric was given as a marriage-portion with a daughter: but these irregularities, now grown customary, were all forgotten in the bosom of peace, the greatest of all blessings. The Huguenots, who were
allowed

allowed the exercise of their religion, though they were still upon their guard, remained quiet; and the prince of Condé joined in the diversions of the court. But this calm was of short duration; the Huguenot party insisted upon too many sureties, and the government granted them too few. The prince of Condé wanted a share in the administration; the cardinal of Lorraine, chief of a powerful and numerous house, aimed at holding the first post in the state; the constable of Montmorenci, who was an enemy to this family, retained his power, and shared in the authority of the court; the Colignis, and the other Huguenot chiefs, prepared to oppose the house of Lorraine. Every one strove to have a share in the dismembering of the state; the catholic clergy on one side, and the protestant ministers on the other, set up the cry of religion. God was their pretence; a thirst of rule, their God; and the people, intoxicated with fanaticism, were at once the instruments and the victims of the ambition of all these opposite factions.

The prince of Condé, who had attempted to rescue young Francis II. from the hands of the Guises at Amboise, now endeavoured to get Charles IX. into his own power, and take the city of Meaux from the constable of Montmorenci. This Lewis of Condé made exactly the same war, with the same stratagems, and on the same pretences, (religion excepted) which his name-fake Lewis the Great, prince of Condé, did afterwards, during the disputes of the league. The prince and the admiral fought the battle of St. Denis against the constable, who was mor-

1567

Nov. 10,

1567.

tally wounded there, in the eightieth year of his age. He was a man equally intrepid at court and in the field, possessed of great virtues and great faults, unfortunate as a general, in disposition morose, capricious, and obstinate; but an honest man, and one of a noble way of thinking. It was he who said to his confessor, "Do you think that I have lived fourscore years to be at a loss to know how to die for one quarter of an hour?" His effigy in wax was carried, like those of the kings of France, to the church of Notre Dame, and the members of the supreme courts attended his funeral obsequies by order of the court; an honour which depends, as almost every thing of this kind does, on the will of the prince and the circumstances of the times.

This battle of St. Denis was indecisive, and the kingdom was only rendered more miserable by it. Admiral de Coligni, who was the most fruitful in resources of any man in his age, sent into the Palatinate for near ten thousand Germans, though he had no money to pay them with. It was now seen what a religious zeal, strengthened with a party-spirit, is capable of doing. The admiral's army taxed itself to pay the Palatine forces. The whole kingdom was laid waste. It was no longer a war wherein one power assembles its forces against another, and gains the victory or is destroyed; there were as many different wars as there were towns; subject destroyed subject with the most bloody fury, and relation, relation. Neither the catholic, the protestant, the neutral, the priest, nor the mechanic, went to bed in safety. The ground lay untilled, or was manured

manured with sword in hand. A forced peace * now ensued; but every peace 1568 was only a smothered war, and every day was distinguished by murders and assassinations.

The war soon broke out again openly; and now it was that Rochelle became the center and principal seat of the reformed party, and the Geneva of France. This town is commodiously situated on the sea-coast, is become a flourishing republic, and was such at that time in some degree; for, after having been in possession of the kings of England ever since the marriage of Eleonora of Guienne with Henry II. it yielded obedience to Charles V. of France, on condition of being allowed to coin silver money in its own name, and that its mayors and sheriffs should be reputed noble. By these and several other privileges, together with an extensive trade, it was become tolerably powerful, and continued so till the time of cardinal Richelieu. It was strongly supported by queen Elizabeth; and its dominion at that time extended over Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, where was fought the famous battle of Jarnac.

The duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. who was at March 13, 1569. the head of the royal army with the title of general, though the marshal de Tavannes was so in reality, proved victorious. Prince Lewis of Condé was killed, or rather murdered after his defeat, by Montsiquion, captain of the guard to the duke of Anjou. Co-

* It was concluded at Longjumeau, and called *the little peace*, because it lasted only six months,

ligni, who was still called the admiral, though no longer in that post, rallied the remains of the conquered army, and made the victory useless to the royalists. Joan d'Albret, queen of Navarre, widow to the weak king Anthony, presented her son to the army, by whom he was acknowledged as head of their party; so that Henry IV. the best of all our French kings, was, as well as Lewis XII. a rebel before he ascended the throne. Admiral Coligni was the real head, both of the Huguenot party and of the army, and was like a father to Henry IV. and the princes of the house of Conde. He alone was the support of this unhappy cause: though in want of money, he kept an army on foot, found means to procure a supply of troops from Germany, though unable to pay them for their service; and, when defeated again at the battle of Moncontour in Poitou, by the duke of Anjou's army, he still repaired the losses of his party.

They had no uniform manner of fighting in those times. The German and Swiss infantry made use only of long spears, the French most commonly of muskets and short halberds; the German cavalry made use of pistols, and the French fought only with the lance. The strongest armies seldom exceeded twenty thousand men, nor could they afford to maintain a greater number. The battle of Moncontour was followed by a thousand skirmishes in the different provinces.

At length, after numberless desolations, a new peace seemed to promise the kingdom a breathing

breathing time * ; but this peace only prepared the way for the fatal massacre of St. Bartholomew. This dreadful day had been meditated and planned for above two years. It is hardly possible to conceive how a wo- 1570
man like Catherine of Medicis, brought up in the midst of pleasures, and to whom the Huguenot party had given the least umbrage of any, could have been capable of forming so barbarous a resolution. It is still more surprising in a young king, not quite twenty years of age. The Guise faction had a great share in this horrid enterprize. Two Italians, the cardinal of Birague and the cardinal of Retz, were those who disposed the minds of the people for it. They gloried at that time in adopting Machiavel's maxims, especially that which teaches that no crime should be committed by halves. The best political maxim would have been not to commit any crime ; but the manners of men had taken a ferocious turn from the continual civil wars they were engaged in, in despite of those pleasures and amusements with which Catherine of Medicis always entertained the court. This mixture of gallantry and ferocity, of pleasures and slaughter, forms the oddest picture in which the contradictions of human-kind were ever exhibited. Charles IX. who was not at all the soldier, was yet of a blood-thirsty disposition ; and though he indulged himself with mistresses, he had a cruel heart. He is the first king who ever conspired

* This peace was concluded at St. Germain, in the month of August 1570, and was very advantageous to the protestants, which made their chiefs suspect some bad design.

against his subjects. The plot was laid with as deep dissimulation as the action itself was horrible. One thing alone might have given some suspicion; which was, that one day while he was diverting himself with hunting of rabbits in a warren, he said to his attendants, "Drive them all out, that I may have the pleasure of killing them all." Accordingly, a gentleman of Coligni's party left Paris in haste, and told the admiral at taking his leave, "That he was going to fly the place, because, said he, they make too much of us."

It is but too well known to Europe *, how Charles IX. married his sister to Henry of Navarre

* The queen of Navarre was decoyed to Paris by a proposal of marriage between her son, who was afterwards Henry IV. and the princess Margaret, sister to Charles IX. the reigning king. The same pretence was used for alluring thither Henry, then prince of Bearn, and his uncle the prince of Condé. The admiral Coligni was invited by Charles, with a promise of declaring him general in a war against Spain in the Low Countries, and Coligni was accompanied by other chiefs of the Huguenots, depending upon the peace which had been lately ratified. The queen of Navarre died suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. The admiral going home to his own lodgings, about eleven in the forenoon, and reading a petition which had been presented to him, was wounded by a shot from a window, fired by one Maurevel, hired for the purpose. The king visiting him in the afternoon, expressed the utmost concern for his disaster, and assured him he would take ample vengeance of the assassin and his abettors. This perfidious prince had, with his mother and council, already projected the scheme, which was now put in execution on the eve of St. Bartholomew. The duke of Guise, who was at the head of this shocking enterprize, communicated the king's intention to the president Charron, intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards to arm the burghers

varre in order to draw him into the snare, what oaths he made use of to gain his confidence, and with what cruelty he afterwards executed those massacres which he had planned for two years before. Father Daniel says, "That Charles IX. was an excellent *comedian*, and

ghers privately : that at the alarm, which would be rung on the bell of the palace-clock, the citizens should place lights in their windows, then break into the houses of the Huguenots, and put them all to the sword, without distinction. About midnight the duke of Guise, accompanied by the duke d'Aumale, the grand prior of France, a number of officers, and three hundred choice soldiers, marched to the admiral's hotel, broke open the gates, and entered the house. A colonel and two other desperadoes going up stairs to the admiral's apartment, butchered him without question, and threw his body out of the window. All his domestics met with the same fate, while the trained bands acted the same tragedy in the Louvre, as well as within the city. Two thousand persons were massacred that night, and a great number perished next day. At the same time the Huguenots were sacrificed in like manner by orders from court, at Meaux, Orleans, Troye, Bourges, Angers, Tholouse, Reuen, and Lyons. The mangled body of the admiral was insulted by the populace, and hung upon the gibbet of Montfaucon. The young king of Navarre and his cousin the prince of Condé were closeted by the king, who told them, that if they refused to embrace the Roman catholic religion, they should not be alive in three days. The parliament being assembled, and informed by their sovereign of the steps he had taken, in consequence (as he said) of a conspiracy against the catholics, the president, who was father of the celebrated historian Thuanus, harangued in praise of the king's conduct; and the advocate-general proposed that the admiral and his accomplices might be proceeded against in form of law. Accordingly the murdered Coligni was tried, condemned, and hanged in effigy. In a word, this whole affair was one of the most infamous plans of peridious cruelty that ever was executed, and leaves an indelible stain on the French nation.

played his *part* incomparably well." I shall not repeat the circumstances attending this execrable tragedy, which are known to all the world, as that one half of the nation butchered the other, with a dagger in one hand and a crucifix in the other, while the king himself fired from a window upon the unhappy wretches who were flying for their lives. I shall only remark some few particulars; the principal is, if we believe the duke of Sully, Matthieu, and other historians, that Henry IV. had often told them, that playing at dice with the dukes of Alençon and Guise, some days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, they saw, twice together, spots of blood upon the dice, upon which they quitted their game in the utmost consternation. Father Daniel, who has preserved this circumstance in his history, ought to have been well enough acquainted with physics, to know that the black points, when making a given angle with the rays of the sun, will appear red; this is known to every one who reads at all, and here was the whole of this surprising prodigy. There certainly was nothing miraculous in all this action, but that religious fury which made savage beasts of a people, who have since been of so mild and airy a disposition.

Father Daniel also relates, that when the dead body of Coligni was hanged upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, Charles IX. went to feed his eyes with this cruel spectacle, saying, "That the body of a dead enemy always smelt well." He should have added, that this was an old speech of Vitellius*, which has

* Abhorrentes quosdam cadaverum tabem, detestabili voce confirmare ausus est: *optimè olere occisum hostem, et melius cibem.* Sueton. in Vitel.

been attributed to Charles IX. But what is most worthy of observation is, that father Daniel would persuade us that these murders were not premeditated. Perhaps the time, place, and manner of the massacre, or the number of those to be proscribed, might not have been concerted for two years before; but it is certain, that the design of exterminating the party had been framed long before. The whole of Mezeray's account, who is a much better Frenchman than father Daniel, and much superior as an historian in the last hundred years of the monarchy, will not permit us to doubt of it; besides, Daniel contradicts himself, when he praises Charles IX. for being so good a *comedian*, and acting his *part* so well.

The manners of men, and the spirit of a party, discover themselves in the way of writing history. Daniel contents himself with saying, "that at Rome they praised the king for his zeal, and the dreadful punishment he inflicted on the heretics." Baronius says that "this action was necessary." The court gave orders for the same massacre in all the provinces as at Paris; but several of the commandants of those provinces, as St. Herem in Auvergne, la Guiche at Maçon, the viscount of Orme at Bayonne, and several others, refused to obey, and wrote to Charles IX. nearly in these terms; "That they would die for his service, but would not consent to murder any one for him."

These were times of such horror and fanaticism, or fear had taken such strong hold of all minds, that the parliament of Paris ordered a procession every year on St. Bartholomew's day, to give thanks to God for the extirpation of

the heretics. The chancellor de l'Hôpital was of a very different opinion when he wrote *exultat illa dies*, "Let that day be for ever crazed." Accordingly there was no procession; and afterwards they were shocked at the thoughts of preserving the remembrance of an action that ought for ever to be buried in oblivion. But, during the heat of the affair, the court ordered the parliament to try the admiral after his death; and two gentlemen, his friends, Brigue-maut and Cavagnes, were formally convicted, and drawn upon a sledge to the Greve, together with the admiral's effigy, and there executed. Thus did they complete this horrid scene, by adding the forms of justice to their inhuman massacres.

If there could be any thing more deplorable than this massacre, it was, that it proved the occasion of a civil war, instead of destroying the roots of these troubles. The Calvinists now determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. About sixty thousand of their brethren had been butchered in time of profound peace, and there still remained above two millions ready to carry on the war. Fresh massacres now followed on both sides. The siege of Sancerre was very remarkable. Historians tell us, that the reformed defended themselves in that town as the Jews defended themselves in Jerusalem against Titus; and like them were at last overpowered, after having suffered the same extremities, insomuch that a father and a mother were driven to make a meal upon their own child. The same is said to have happened afterwards in Paris, when that city was besieged by Henry IV.

In the midst of these disasters, the duke of Anjou, who had acquired some 1573 reputation in Europe by the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, was elected king of Poland. He considered this dignity only as an honourable exile. He was called to reside among a people whose language he did not understand, who were at that time looked upon in the world as little better than barbarians, and who, tho' they were not so miserable, so devoured with factions, or so distracted with factions as the French, were at the same time much less civilized and polished. The duke of Anjou's private apenage* was worth more to him than the crown of Poland; it amounted to one million two hundred thousand livres, and this distant kingdom to which he was going was so poor, that in the diploma of election it was stipulated, as an essential clause, that the king should lay out these one million two hundred thousand livres in Poland. Accordingly he repaired with an ill-will to take possession of his new dignity, and yet he seemed not to have much to regret in leaving France. The court he quitted was a prey to as many dissensions as the state itself. Every day brought new conspiracies real or imaginary, duels, murders, and imprisonments, without form or reason, and which were worse than the troubles which occasioned them. There were not so many illustrious heads brought to the scaffold as in England, but there were more private murders

* Lands set apart for the maintenance of younger children of the royal family.

committed, and they already began to grow acquainted with poison.

Nevertheless, when the ambassadors of Poland came to Paris to pay their homage to Henry III. the court gave them a most brilliant and delicately imagined entertainment, in which the genius and talents of the nation shone thro' the midst of all these horrors and calamities. Sixteen ladies of the court, representing the sixteen principal provinces of France, after dancing a ballet, accompanied with machinery, presented the king of Poland and the ambassadors with gold medals, on which were engraved the productions peculiar to each province.

Henry had scarcely taken possession of the throne of Poland, when Charles IX. died, at the age of twenty-four years and one month, after having made his name odious to all the earth, at a time of life when the subjects of his capital were not reckoned out of their minority. He died of a very extraordinary distemper: his blood oozed from all the pores of his body. This accident, which is not wholly without example, may have been caused by excessive fear, a violent transport of passion, or an overheated and atrabiliary constitution*; but it passed with the people, especially the protestants, for the effect of divine vengeance. An useful notion, did it put a stop to the wickedness of those who are powerful, or unfortunate enough not to be subject to the curb of the laws.

1574 The infant Henry III. heard of his brother's death, he fled from Poland as

* More likely the effect of a putrid colliquation of the blood, and a relaxation of the capillaries.

a man would fly from prison. He might have obtained the consent of the senate to have divided himself between that kingdom and his hereditary dominions, of which there has been many examples: but he hastened from that savage nation to seek in his own country a train of miseries and a death as fatal as had ever yet been seen in France.

He quitted a country where the manners of the people, though rough, were simple; and where ignorance and poverty made their lives gloomy, but at the same time preserved them from being stained with great crimes. The court of France, on the contrary, was a mixture of luxury, intrigues, gallantry, debauchery, plots, superstition, and atheism. Catherine of Medicis, who was niece to pope Clement VII. had introduced a venality among all the places at her court, such as was practised at the pontiff's. Another invention which she imported with her from Italy was that of selling the king's revenues to certain farmers or purchasers, who advanced money upon them; an expedient which, though it may be useful for a time, is attended with lasting danger. The superstitious belief of judicial astrology, enchantments, and witchcrafts, were likewise fruits of her transplanting from her own country into France; for although the revival of the polite arts was in a great measure owing to the Florentines, yet they were very far from having any knowledge of true philosophy. The queen had brought over with her one Luke Gauric*, an astro-

* He was a native of Gesoni in the kingdom of Naples, who had made great progress in mathematics and judicial astro-

astrologer, a man who at this time of day would be despised, even by the populace, as a wretched juggler; but was then looked upon as a person of great consideration. There are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious some of the constellated rings and talismans of those times; as is that famous medal in which Catherine is represented naked, between the constellations Aries and Taurus, with the name *Ebulla Asinodea* over her head, holding a dart in one hand, and an heart in the other; and in the exergue the name *Oxich*.

Never was the folly of witchcraft in so much credit as at that time. It was common to make figures of wax, which they pierced to the heart, pronouncing at the same time certain unintelligible words. By this they fancied they destroyed their enemies: nor were they in the least undeceived by the failure of success. One Cosmo Ruggieri*, a Florentine, being accused

astrology. He lived in high favour with pope Paul III. who raised him to the bishopric of Civita Ducale. He is said to have predicted, that Henry II. of France would be slain in a duel, or single combat. This prediction subjected him to the ridicule and contempt of the French court; but when it was verified, he came to be in great request with Catherine de Medicis.

* By making horoscopes at the court of France he obtained the abbacy of St. Mabé in Brittany. He was afterwards sent to the galleys for having been in a conspiracy against Charles IX. but soon released by the queen mother. He composed philtres and almanacks, and after a long absence appearing at the court of Henry IV. had the impudence to affirm that it was not he, but a certain gardener, who had been condemned in the preceding reign. He lived to an old age, and dying a professed atheist was denied christian burial.

of having practised against the life of Charles IX. by these pretended spells, was put to the torture. Another of these magicians was condemned to be burnt, who declared on his examination, that there were above thirty thousand of the same profession in France.

These madnesses were accompanied with numberless acts of devotion, and these again were intermixed with the most abandoned debaucheries. The protestants, on the contrary, who piqued themselves upon reformation, opposed the strictest severity of conduct to the licentious manners of the court. They punished adultery with death. Shews and games of all kinds were held in as much abhorrence by them as the ceremonies of the Romish church, and they put the mass almost upon the same footing with witchcrafts: so that there were two nations in France absolutely different the one from the other; and there was the less prospect of reunion, as the Huguenots had ever since the massacre of St. Bartholomew entertained a design of forming themselves into a republic.

The king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. and Henry prince of Condé, son to that Lewis who was assassinated at Jarnac, were the heads of this party; but they had been detained prisoners at court ever since the time of the massacre. Charles IX. had offered them the alternative of changing their religion, or suffering death. Princes who have seldom any other religion than that of interest, do not often choose to encounter martyrdom. Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Condé then had turned catholics; but at the death of Charles IX. Condé found means to make his escape, and solemn-

solemnly abjured the Romish faith at Straßbourg: he afterwards took refuge in the Palatinate, and made use of his credit with the Germans to procure succours for his party, in the same manner as his father had formerly done.

Henry III. at his return to France had it in his power to settle matters in that kingdom; it was bathed in blood, it was divided on all sides, but it was not dismembered. It was still in possession of Pignerol, and the marquissate of Saluces, and consequently of all the ports of Italy. A few years of a tolerable administration might have healed the wounds of a nation where the land is fruitful and the inhabitants industrious. Henry of Navarre was still in the power of the queen mother, Catherine of Medicis, who had been declared regent of the kingdom, by Charles IX. till the return of the new king. The Huguenots only desired a protection for their religion and properties; and their scheme of forming a republic could never have prevailed against the royal authority resolutely exerted, and not carried to extremes. They might have been easily kept within bounds. Such at least were always the opinions and counsels of the wisest heads in the kingdom, such as the chancellor de L'Hôpital, Paul de Foix, Christopher de Thou, father of the authentic and eloquent historian, Pibrac, and Harlay; but the favourites, who thought to be gainers by a war, determined the king to prosecute violent measures.

No sooner was the king arrived at Lyons, than with the handful of troops which had been sent to meet him, he endeavoured to storm those towns, which by a little politic management he

might have quietly reduced to their duty. He might have perceived that he had taken a wrong step, when endeavouring to force a small town called Levron sword in hand, they called to him from the top of the walls, "Draw near, assassins; come on bloody murderers, you shall not find us asleep as you found the admiral."

He had not at that time money sufficient to pay the soldiers, who therefore disbanded of their own accord; and, happy in not being attacked upon the road, he went to Rheims to be consecrated, and from thence to Paris to make his entry under these melancholy auspices, and in the midst of a civil war, which his presence had revived, whereas it might have stifled it. He could neither curb the Huguenots, content the Catholics, check his brother the duke of Alençon, then duke of Anjou, manage his finances, nor discipline an army. He wanted to be absolute, and took no method of being so. He made himself odious by the shameful debaucheries he indulged himself in with his minions. He rendered himself contemptible by his superstitious practices and his processions, by which he thought to throw a veil over his infamy, and which only tended to expose it the more. He weakened his authority by his extravagance, at a time when he ought to have converted all his gold into steel. There was no police, no justice; his favourites were murdered before his face, or cut each other's throats in their quarrels. His own brother, the duke of Anjou, who was a Catholic, joined against him, with Henry of Condé, who was an Huguenot, and brought a body of Swiss into the
king-

kingdom, while the prince of Condé entered it with an army of Germans.

During this anarchy, Henry duke of Guise, son to the late duke Francis, a rich and powerful nobleman, now become chief of the house of Lorraine, in France, possessed of all his father's credit, idolized by the people, and feared by the court, obliges the king to bestow the command of the armies on him. It was his interest to throw every thing into confusion, that the court might stand in need of his services.

The king demands a sum of money of his city of Paris. He is answered that it had already furnished within the last fifteen years, thirty-six millions extraordinary; that the country had been plundered by the soldiery, the city by the financiers, and the church by simony and bad conduct. In short, instead of supplies, he received only complaints.

In the mean time, young Henry of Navarre escapes from court, where he had hitherto been detained a prisoner. They might have apprehended him again as a prince of the blood, but they had no right upon his liberty as a king; such he actually was, of Lower Normandy, and of the Upper by right of inheritance. He goes to Guienne. The Germans, who had been called in by Condé, entered the province of Champagne. The duke of Anjou, the king's brother, was likewise in arms.

The devastations of the late reign are revived anew. The king then does that by a shameful treaty which he ought to have done as an able sovereign at his first accession: he concludes a peace, and he granted at the same time much
more

more than would have been demanded of him at first, namely, the free exercise of the reformed religion, with their churches, synods, and courts of justice ; to consist of one half catholics, and the other half protestants, in the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Aix, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes. He publicly disowns the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which he was but too deeply concerned. He exempts from taxes for six years, the children of all those who were killed in that massacre ; restores the memory of the accused admiral Coligni to its honours ; and, to complete his own humiliation, submits to pay the German troops of the prince palatine Casimir, those very troops who had forced him to conclude this peace. But not having money enough to satisfy them, he permits them to live at discretion for three months in the provinces of Burgundy and Champagne. At length he sends the sum of six hundred thousand crowns to Casimir, by his envoy Believre, who is detained by that prince as hostage for the payment of the remainder, and carried prisoner to Heidelberg, through which city Casimir orders the spoils of France to be carried in procession to the sound of trumpets, in open waggons, drawn by oxen with their horns gilded.

This low degree of infamy, to which the king was sunk, emboldened Henry duke of Guise to form the league which had been projected by his uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, and to raise himself upon the ruins of a miserable and ill-governed kingdom. The state now teemed with factions, and Henry de Guise was formed for them. He is allowed to have had
all

all the noble qualities of his father, with the most headstrong and designing ambition. Like him he enchanted all hearts; and it was said of the father and son, that in comparison with them all other princes appeared but as common men. He was extolled likewise for a generous and noble heart; but he gave no great proof of this, when in the street Barisi he trampled upon the dead body of admiral Coligni, which had been just thrown out of a window before his face.

The league was first set on foot in Paris. Papers were dispersed amongst the citizens, containing a project of association for the defence of religion, the king, and the liberty of the state; or rather oppress at once both king, state, and religion. The league was afterwards solemnly signed at Peronne, and throughout the greater part of Picardy, and soon afterwards the rest of the provinces acceded to it. The king of Spain declared himself its protector, and it afterwards received the sanction of the popes. The king, pressed between the Calvinists, who demanded additional privileges, and the leaguers, who wanted to deprive him of his own, thought to strike a blow in politics, by signing the league himself, for fear it should crush him, and declared himself its chief, which inspired the members of it with double boldness. He now found himself, against his will, obliged to break the peace he had concluded with the reformed, without having any money to carry on a new war. He convoked a general assembly of estates at Blois, but they refused to grant him the supplies

plies he demanded for this war, though they themselves had forced him into it. 1576 He could not even obtain leave to ruin himself by alienating his demesnes. However, he made shift to assemble an army by ruining himself in another manner, namely, by mortgaging the crown revenues, and creating new posts. Hostilities were now renewed on both sides, which were followed by another peace. The king was desirous of having money and troops, only that he might be in a condition of no longer fearing the power of the Guises; but as soon as the peace was concluded, he consumed his small resource in idle pleasures, feasting, and prodigalities, on his favourites.

It was difficult to govern such a kingdom otherwise than by money or arms. Henry III. could scarcely procure either the one or the other. We shall now see what difficulty he had to procure in his greatest need one million three hundred thousand franks of the clergy for six years, to get the parliament to verify certain money edicts, and with what eagerness this transient supply was devoured by the marquis d'O, comptroller of the finances.

Henry could not be said to reign. The catholic league and the protestant confederacy made war upon each other, in despite of him, in all the provinces of the kingdom. Epidemic diseases and famine were added to these scourges; and at this time of general calamity, in order to set up his own favourites against the duke of Guise, after having created Joyeuse and d'Epemon, dukes and peers, and given them precedence over their elder peers, he expended four millions on the marriage of the duke of Joyeuse, with the

the sister of the queen his consort, and makes him his brother-in-law. New taxes were now raised to defray these prodigalities: this excited the indignation of the public afresh. Had the duke of Guise not made a league against the king, his conduct was sufficient to have produced one.

At this time too, his brother the duke of Anjou goes into the Netherlands, which were afflicted with equal desolations, in pursuit of a principality, which he lost by his imprudent tyranny. As Henry III. permitted his brother to put himself at the head of the malcontents in Flanders, and endeavour to wrest the provinces of the Netherlands from Philip II. we may judge whether that monarch would support the league in France, which was every day gaining fresh strength. What then were the expedients which Henry thought fit to oppose against it? He instituted societies of penitents, he built monkish cells at Vincennes for himself and the companions of his pleasures: he made a shew of worshiping God in public, while he committed the most unnatural acts in private: he went clad in white sackcloth, with a discipline and a string of beads hanging at his girdle, and called himself friar Henry. Such a conduct at once exasperated and emboldened the leaguers. The pulpits of Paris publicly re-founded with censures against his infamous devotion. The faction of sixteen* was formed

* The faction of the sixteen was a kind of particular league for Paris only, consisting of several persons, who were distributed in the sixteen wards of the town, and who had shared the administration of affairs among one another; they were staunch friends to the duke of Guise, and sworn enemies to the king.

under the duke of Guise, and nothing of Paris remained to the king but the name.

Henry de Guise, now become master of the catholic party, had already procured troops with the money of his adherents, and began to attack the friends of the king of Navarre. This prince, who like Francis I. was the most generous cavalier of his time, offered to terminate this mighty difference by fighting the duke of Guise singly, or with ten against ten, or with any number that he should chuse. He wrote to Henry III. his brother-in-law, remonstrating to him that the league was aimed much more against his crown and dignity, than against the Huguenot party; he pointed out to him the precipice on which he stood, and offered to deliver him at the hazard of his life and fortunes.

At this very time pope Sixtus V. fulminated that famous bull against the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, in which he calls them, "The bastard and detestable race of the house of Bourbon," and declares them to have forfeited all right of inheritance and succession. The league made their own use of this bull, and obliged the king to prosecute his brother-in-law, who endeavoured to assist him, and to protect and second the duke of Guise, who was dethroning him with respect. This was the ninth civil war since the death of Francis II.

Henry IV. (for we must already call him so, since that name is so famous and dear, and is become a kind of proper name) Henry IV. had at once upon his hands, the king of France, Margaret his own wife, and the league.

Mar-

Margaret, by declaring against her husband, revived the old barbarous times, when excommunications broke the ties of society, and made a prince execrable to his nearest relations. Henry now shewed himself the great man he was : he braved the pope even in Rome itself, caused papers to be fixed up at the corners of the high streets, in which he gave Sixtus V. the formal lye, and appealed from his bull to the court of peers.

He easily prevented his imprudent wife from seizing upon Agenois, which she attempted to do ; and as to the royal army which was sent against him under the command of the duke of Joyeuse, all the world knows how he defeated it at Coutras, where he fought like a common soldier at the head of his troops, took several prisoners with his own hand, and shewed as much humanity and modesty after his victory, as he had shewn courage during the fight*.

This day gained him more reputation than it brought him real advantages. His army was not like that of a king, which is kept in pay, and always ready for service ; it was that of the

* The duke de Joyeuse threw down his sword to two officers, and offered them one hundred thousand crowns for his ransom ; but a captain called St. Herai, riding up at that instant, shot him dead with a pistol. His brother, the marquis de St. Sauveur, likewise lost his life. The Catholics were totally routed, with great slaughter ; but Henry, instead of improving his victory, by advancing towards the Loire, and joining his German auxiliaries, or by reducing the provinces of Xaintonge, Angoumois, Poitou, and part of Anjou, where he would have met with little or no opposition, repaired to Bearn, to visit the countess of Grammont, at whose feet he laid all the standards which he had taken in the battle.

head of a party, and had no regular pay. The officers could not prevent their soldiers from returning home to gather in their harvests, and were obliged to retire themselves to their estates. Henry IV. has been accused of having lost the fruits of his victory by going to Bearn, to pay a visit to the countess of Grammont, of whom he was enamoured. These people do not reflect that his army might easily have acted in his absence, could he have kept it together. Henry of Condé, his cousin, a prince whose manners were as austere as those of Navarre were gay and sprightly, quitted the army as well as him, and retired to his estate, after having remained some time in Poitou, as did all the rest of the officers, after solemnly swearing to reassemble again by the twentieth of November. Such was the method of making war at that time.

But the prince of Condé's stay at St. John of Angeli was one of the most fatal events of these horrid times. After Jan. 1588 having supped with his wife Charlene de la Trimouille, at his return he was seized with convulsions, which carried him off in two days. The judge of St. John of Angeli by his own authority committed the princess to prison, examined her himself, entered a criminal process against her, condemned a young page named Permillac de Beile-Castel for contumacy, and sentenced Brillaut the prince's *maitre de hotel* to be drawn asunder by four horses, in the town of St. John of Angeli, which sentence was afterwards confirmed by commissioners appointed by the king of Navarre himself. The princess, who was with child, appealed to the court of peers, who

declared her innocent, and ordered the proceedings against her to be burnt. It may be necessary in this place to refute the story which has been repeated by so many different writers, that this princess was delivered of the great Condé fourteen months after her husband's death, and that the Sorbonne was consulted concerning the child's legitimacy. Nothing can be more false; it has been sufficiently proved, that the young prince of Condé was born within six months after his father's decease.

If Henry of Navarre defeated the king's army at the battle of Coutras, the duke of Guise on his side, almost at the same time, routed an army of Germans, which was upon the march to join Henry, in which action he gave proofs of as great conduct as that prince had of courage. The unfortunate affair of Coutras, and the duke of Guise's reputation, proved two fresh subjects of uneasiness to the king of France. Guise, in concert with all the princes of his house, drew up a petition to the king, in which they requested of him the publication of the council of Trent, and the establishment of the inquisition; that he would order the estates of all the Huguenots to be confiscated, for the use of the heads of the league; that new places of security should be put into their hands; and that he would banish such favourites as they should name to him. Every article of this petition was a barefaced outrage upon the royal authority. The people of Paris, and especially the cabal of sixteen, publicly insulted the king's favourites, and were even wanting in a proper respect to his own person.

But

For the real administration of the state at that time is best shewn by a small circumstance, which proved the cause of that year's disasters. The king, in order to prevent the troubles which he saw were likely to arise in Paris, forbade the duke of Guise to enter that city. He wrote him two letters on this subject, which he ordered to be dispatched by two couriers; but there being no money in the treasury to defray this necessary expence, the letters were put into the post, and the duke of Guise arrives at Paris with the specious excuse that he had not received the order. This occasioned the battle of the Barricadoes*. It would be superfluous to repeat what has been said by so many historians relating to this affair. Every one knows that the king quitted his capital and fled before his subjects, and that he afterwards convoked the second assembly of estates at Blois, where he caused the duke of Guise and the cardinal his brother to be assassinated†, after
having

* The king having introduced six thousand troops into the city of Paris, with a view to over-awe, and perhaps to seize the malcontents of that capital, the burghers, under the conduct and direction of the duke of Guise, or his dependants, raised barricadoes in the streets as they advanced, firing upon the king's troops, who being obliged to abandon the city in disgrace, the king thought he was no longer safe at the Louvre, and fled to Chartres.

† When Henry, by the advice of his mother and a few counsellors, had resolved to take off the duke by assassination, he would have employed for this purpose Crillon, colonel of the guards; but that gallant officer rejected the proposal with disdain. He told the king he was a gentleman, and not an executioner; but that if his majesty would allow him to challenge the duke, he would do his endeavour to kill him fairly in single combat. Henry expressed no resentment

having taken the sacrament with them, and solemnly sworn upon the host to live in friendship with them for ever.

The laws are held so respectable and sacred, that had Henry III. only kept up the appearance of them, or if, when he had the duke and the cardinal in his power at Blois, he had, as he might have done, coloured his revenge with the forms of justice, his reputation and his life might have been safe: but the murder of a hero

at this refusal, but enjoining Crillon to secrecy, made the same proposal to Loignac, captain of the band of Gascon gentlemen, and he readily undertook the office. The duke of Guise had repeated intimations of some design against his life; but he told his friends he was too far advanced to retreat: he observed, that the king and he were like two armies facing each other, the first that turned their backs would run the risk of a defeat. The day that preceded his death, he found at table a note under his napkin, assuring him there was a design against his life. Having perused this intimation, he wrote with his pencil on the same paper, "They dare not," and threw it under the table. On the twenty-third day of December, in the year 1588, about eight o'clock in the morning, Revol, the secretary of state, told the duke of Guise that the king wanted to speak with him in his closet. He forthwith passed through the antichamber, and lifting up the hangings in order to enter the closet, was suddenly stabbed in six different places, by those individuals of the Gascon guard whom Loignac had selected for the purpose. He exclaimed, "Lord have mercy upon me!" and falling dead on the floor, the king, who had with his own hands presented the daggers to the assassins, came out of the closet, and ordered the body to be covered with a carpet, then retired to wait till the rest of his orders should be executed. The cardinal de Guise with the archbishop of Lyons being in the antichamber, and hearing the duke's expiring groan, ran out in great consternation; but their escape was prevented by the Scottish guard: they were confined to different apartments, and next day the cardinal was murdered by the king's order.

and

and a priest made him execrable in the eyes of all the Catholics, without adding any thing to his power.

And here I think I am bound to rectify an error which is found in many of our books, especially in the State of France, a work which is frequently reprinted, and in which it is said that the duke of Guise was assassinated by the gentlemen in ordinary of the king's bedchamber; the orator Mainbourg also, in his History of the League, pretends, that Loignac, the principal of the murderers, was first gentleman of the bedchamber. All this is manifestly false. The registers of the chamber of accounts which escaped the fire, and which I have consulted, prove, that the marshal de Retz and the count de Villequier were taken from the number of gentlemen in ordinary, to be made first gentlemen of the bedchamber, a new post created by Henry II. for the marshal de St. André. These same registers likewise give the names of the gentlemen in ordinary of the bed-chamber, who were then of some of the principal families of the kingdom. They had succeeded in the reign of Francis I. to the place of chamberlains, and these latter to that of knights of the household. The gentlemen called the Forty-five, who assassinated the duke of Guise, were a new body formed by the duke of Epernon, and payed by the royal treasury on this duke's notes: and none of their names are found among the gentlemen of the bed-chamber.

Loignac, St. Capautet, Alfrenas, Herbelade, and their accomplices, were poor Gascon gentlemen, whom Epernon had provided for the

king on this occasion. They were handy people, servicable people, as they were called at that time. Every prince and great nobleman entertained one or more of these about him in those troublesome times. They were men of this stamp whom the Guises had employed to assassinate St. Megrin, one of Henry III.'s favourites. Those practices were very different from the noble folly of ancient chivalry, and those times of generous barbarism, when all disputes were decided within lists by equal arms.

So strong is the force of opinion among men, that those murderers, who made no scruple of assassinating the duke of Guise in the most cowardly manner, refused to dip their hands in the blood of the cardinal his brother; and the contrivers of this bloody tragedy were obliged to employ four soldiers of the regiment of guards, who knocked him on the head with their halberds. Two days passed between the murder of the two brothers; this is an irrefragable proof that the king had time enough before him to have made some shew of justice, if ever so sudden.

Henry III. was not only wanting in the artifice necessary on this occasion, but he was likewise wanting to himself in not hastening immediately to Paris with his army. And though he told Catherine of Medicis, his mother, that he had taken all the necessary measures, he had only provided for his revenge, and not for the means of reigning. He remained at Blois uselessly employed in examining into the journals of the estates, while the cities of Paris, Orleans, Rouen, Dijon, Lyons, and Toulouse,

revolted at one and the same time as it were by agreement. He was now looked upon as no other than an assassin, and a perjured wretch. The pope excommunicated him; and this excommunication, which at any other time would have been held in contempt, became now of the most dreadful consequence, as being joined to the public outcry for justice, 1589 and seeming to unite both God and man against him. Seventy doctors of the Sorbonne in assembly declared him to have forfeited his crown, and his subjects released from their oath of allegiance. The clergy refused absolution to such of their penitents as continued to own him for king. The cabal of sixteen commit to the Bastille those members of parliament who are most devoted to his interest. The duke of Guise's widow appears to demand justice for the murder of her husband and brother-in-law; and the parliament at the request of the procurator-general, appoints two of its counselors, Courtin and Michon, to draw up an indictment against "Henry of Valois, heretofore king of France and Poland."

This monarch had acted so blindly through the whole of this affair, that he had no army ready: he therefore sent Sancy to negotiate a supply of men from the Swiss, and had the means to write a letter to the duke of Mayenne, who was now at the head of the league, beseeching him to forget the murder of his brother. He likewise employed the pope's nuncio to speak to him; but Mayenne's answer was, "I never will forgive this miscreant." The letters which mention this negotiation are still preserved at Rome.

At length he is obliged to have recourse to that very Henry of Navarre, who was at once his conqueror and his lawful successor, and whom he ought from the first moment of the forming of the league to have taken for his support, not only as a person who was the most interested in the maintenance of the royal dignity, but as a prince whose generosity he was acquainted with, who had a soul far superior to the rest of his contemporaries, and who would never have made an ill use of his presumptive right to the crown.

By the assistance of Navarre and the efforts of the rest of his party, he at length saw himself at the head of an army. The two kings now appear before the gates of Paris. It would be needless to recount how that city was delivered by the murder of Henry III. I shall only observe with the president de Thou, that when the Dominican friar, James Clement*, a fanatic priest, who had been encouraged to this

* This desperate fanatic obtained admittance to the king at St. Cloud, by means of a letter with which he said he was charged by the president de Harlay, one of his majesty's friends at Paris. While Henry perused this letter, Clement pulled a knife out of his sleeve, and stabbing his sovereign in the belly, left it sticking in the wound. The king drew it forth with his own hand, and wounded the assassin in the eye; but he was immediately dispatched by the guards, who hearing the noise ran into the apartment, and the body was thrown out at the window. Henry expired next morning, after having declared the king of Navarre his successor. The council of sixteen, who governed Paris, in all probability knew of Clement's design; for that very morning, they imprisoned a great number of persons who were known to have relations in the king's army, that they might serve as hostages to save the life of the assassin, in case he should have been taken alive.

action by his prior Bourgoïn and the rest of his convent, full of the spirit of the league, and sanctified, as he thought, by the sacrament which he had taken, came to demand an audience of the king in order to assassinate him, Henry felt a secret pleasure in seeing him approach, and declared that his heart danced within him every time he saw a monk. I shall pass over the detail of what passed at Paris and Rome on this occasion; with what zeal the inhabitants of the first of these cities placed the picture of the regicide on the altars, how the guns were fired at Rome, and the monk's eulogium publicly pronounced. But it will be necessary to observe, that in the general opinion of the people, this wretch passed for a saint and a martyr, who had delivered the people of God from a persecuting tyrant, on whom they bestowed no other appellation than that of Herod. This man had devoted himself to certain death: his superiors, and all those whom he had consulted, had commanded him in God's name to do this holy deed. His mind was in a state of invincible ignorance, and he had an inward persuasion that he was going to offer himself a sacrifice for God, the church, and his country; in short, in the opinion of the divines, he was hastening to eternal happiness, and the king he murdered was eternally damned. This had been the opinion of some Calvinistical divines concerning Poltrot de Mére, and what the catholics said of the murder of the prince of Orange; and I remark the spirit of the times more than the facts, which are sufficiently known.

C H A P. CXLIV.

OF HENRY IV.

IN reading the history of Henry IV. by father Daniel, we are surpris'd at not finding him the great man. His character is but half drawn; there are none of those sayings which were the lively images of his soul, nor that speech which he made in the assembly of the principal citizens of Rouen, and which is worthy of eternal memory; nor yet any notice taken of the great good he did to his country. In short, father Daniel's reign of Henry IV. consists only of a dry narrative of military operations, long speeches in parliament in favour of the Jesuits, and the life of father Cotton.

Bayle, who is as erroneous and superficial, when he treats of historical and worldly matters, as he is learned and solid in his logical writings, begins his article of Henry IV. by saying, that "Had he been made an eunuch while he was young, he might have eclipsed the glory of Alexander and Cæsar." This is one of those things which he ought to have struck out of his dictionary; besides, his logic fails him in this ridiculous supposition, for Cæsar was much more addicted to debaucheries than Henry IV. was to women, and we can see no reason why Henry should have surpassed Alexander. In fine, it is to be wish'd, for the example of kings, and the satisfaction of the people, that they would consult some better historian than Daniel, such as Mézeray's great history, *Perseux*.

refixe, and the duke of Sully, for what relates to the reign of this excellent prince:

Let us, for our private use, take a summary view of the life of this glorious prince, a life which was, alas! of too short a date. He was from his infancy brought up in the midst of troubles and misfortunes. He was present at the battle of Moncontour*, when he was but fourteen years old. He was recalled to Paris by Charles IX. and married to that king's sister only to see his friends murdered around him, to run the hazard of his own life; and to be detained near three years a prisoner of state. He escaped from his confinement only to undergo all the fatigues and vicissitudes of war; he was frequently in want of the common necessities of life, a continual stranger to rest, exposing his person like the meanest soldier, performing actions which are hardly credible, but by being so often repeated; witness that at the siege of Cahors in 1599, when he was five days successively under arms, and fighting from street to street, without taking a moment's rest. The victory of Coutras was principally owing to his courage, and his humanity after the victory was such as gained him every heart.

By the murder of Henry III. he became king of France; but religion served as a pretext for one half of the chiefs of his army to desert him, and for the leaguers to refuse to ac-

* Moncontour fought on the third day of October, in the year 1569, between the army of Charles IX. commanded by his brother the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. and the Huguenots, under the admiral de Coligny; which last were defeated with great slaughter.

knowledge him. They set up a phantom of a king in opposition to him, Vendôme cardinal of Bourbon; and the Spanish monarch, Philip II. who had gotten the mastery of the league by his money, already reckoned France as one of his provinces. The duke of Savoy, Philip's son-in-law, invades Provence and Dauphiné. The parliament of Languedoc forbid any one to acknowledge him as king under pain of death, and declare him "Incapable of possessing the crown of France, agreeable to the bull of our holy father the pope."

Henry IV. had only the justice of his cause, his personal courage, and a few friends on his side. He never was in a condition to keep an army on foot for any considerable time; and what sort of an army was his! It hardly ever amounted to twelve thousand men complete; a less number than a detachment now-a-days. His servants took their turns to follow him into the field, and left him again after a few months service. The Swiss troops, and a few companies of spearmen, which he could with difficulty keep in pay, formed the standing force of his army. He was obliged to run incessantly from town to town, fighting and negotiating; and there is hardly a province in France where he did not perform some great exploits, at the head of an handful of men.

At first he fought the battle of Arques near Dieppe, with about five thousand men against the duke of Mayenne's army, which was twenty-five thousand strong; after that he carried the suburbs of Paris, and only wanted more men to make himself master of the city itself. He was then obliged to retreat, and to form several fortified

fortified villages in order to open a communication with those towns which were in his interest.

While he is thus continually exposed to fatigues and dangers, cardinal Cajetan arrives as legate from Rome, and in the pontiff's name quietly gives laws to the city of Paris. The Sorbonne constantly declare against his sovereignty, and the league reigns in the name of the cardinal of Vendôme, to whom they gave the title of Charles K. and coin money in his name, while Henry detains him prisoner at Tours.

The monks and priests stir up the people, and the Jesuits run from Paris to Rome and Spain, to excite factions against him. Father Matthew, who was called the courier of the league, labours incessantly to raise bulls and armics to distress him. The king of Spain sends one thousand five hundred spearmen, fully accoutred, making in all about four thousand horsemen, and three thousand of the old Walloon infantry, under the command of count Egmont, son to that Egmont whom this king had beheaded. Then Henry rallies the few forces he could get together, and at length finds himself at the head of no more than ten thousand men. With this little army he fights the famous battle of Ivry*, against the leaguers commanded by the duke of Mayenne, and the

* Henry had actually invested Dreux, when, being informed that the duke de Mayenne was on his march to relieve it, he called a council of war, and told them; "Gentlemen, we must raise the siege; but it will be no dishonourable step, as we do it in order to give battle."

Spaniards, vastly superior in numbers, artillery, and all necessaries for a large army. He gains this battle as he had gained that of Coutras, by throwing himself into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and confronting a forest of spears. His words will be for ever remembered by posterity: "If you lose your colours, repair to where you see my white plume of feathers; you will always find it in the road to honour and glory." "Spare the lives of Frenchmen," cried he, when the victors were dealing death among the vanquished.

This victory was not like that of Coutras, where he had barely the superiority. He does not lose an instant in taking advantage of his good fortune. His army follows him with alacrity, and is reinforced on its march. But after all, he is able to muster no more than fifteen thousand men; and with this handful of troops he lays siege to Paris, in which there were at that time near two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. It is past doubt that he would have reduced the city by famine, had he not, by an excess of compassion, permitted his own troops to relieve the besieged. His generals in vain issued orders that no one, under pain of death, should presume to furnish the besieged with provisions; the very soldiers of his army sold them to them. One day that they were going to make an example of two peasants who had been detected in carrying two waggon-loads of bread to one of the posterns of the city, Henry chanced to meet them on the way to execution, as he was visiting the quarters: they immediately fell on their knees, and pleaded in excuse, that they had no other way of getting:

ting their livelihood : " Go your ways in peace," said the king, giving them at the same time all the money he had about him ; " The Gascon is poor ; had he more, he would give it you." A generous mind cannot refuse a few tears of admiration and tenderness on reading such passages.

While he was thus carrying on the siege, the priests were making continual processions clad in armour, with a musket in one hand and a crucifix in the other. The parliament, the supreme courts, and the citizens, took an oath on the Gospel, in presence of the legate and the Spanish ambassador, not to receive him for their king. But at length provisions began to fail, and the city suffered the most dreadful extremes of famine.

Philip sends the duke of Parma to the relief of Paris with a powerful army. Henry hastens to give him battle. Every one knows the letter which he wrote to Gabrielle d'Estree, (whose name has been rendered so famous thro' him,) from the field where he expected to come to an engagement : " If I die, says he, my last thoughts shall be on my God, and the last but those on you." The duke of Parma did not accept the battle he offered him ; he came only to relieve the city, and make the league more dependant on the king of Spain. To continue the siege with so few troops, in the face of so powerful an enemy, was impossible. Here then his successes were again retarded, and his former victories rendered fruitless. However, he prevents the duke of Parma from making any conquests ; and, by keeping close to him with his little army as far as the frontiers of Picardy,

Picardy, he obliges him to return back into Flanders.

No sooner is he delivered from this enemy, than pope Gregory XIV. (Sfondrati) makes use of the treasures amassed by his predecessor Sixtus V. to hire troops to send to the assistance of the league. The king had still the joint forces of Spain, Rome, and France, to encounter; for the duke of Parma, when he retreated, had left the duke of Mayenne behind him with an army of eight thousand men. One of the pope's nephews enters France with an army of Italians and letters of admonition, and joins the duke of Savoy in Dauphiny. Lesdigueres, the same who was afterwards the last constable of France, and the last of the powerful French nobles, beat the duke of Savoy's and the pope's armies. He, like Henry IV. made war with generals and soldiers who served only once, and yet he defeated these regular troops. Every one carried arms at that time in France, the peasant, the artificer, and the citizen; this ruined the kingdom, but at the same time it prevented its falling a prey to its neighbours. The pope's troops dispersed of themselves, after having committed such excesses as were till then unknown beyond the Alps. The country-people burnt the goats which followed their regiments.

Philip II. from his palace in Madrid continued to feed this flame, by constantly supplying the duke of Mayenne with a few succours at a time, that he might neither grow too weak nor too powerful, and by scattering his money thro' Paris in order to get his daughter, Clara Eugenia, acknowledged queen of France, with
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the prince whom he should chuse to give her for an husband. With this view he sent the duke of Parma again into France, when Henry was besieging the city of Rouen, as he had done during the siege of Paris. He promised the league that he would send an army of fifty thousand men into the kingdom, as soon as his daughter should be declared queen. Henry quits the siege of Rouen, and drives the duke of Parma again out of France.

In the mean time the faction of the sixteen, who were in Philip's pay, were very near completing that monarch's scheme, and the ruin of the kingdom. They had caused the first president of the parliament of Paris, and two of the principal magistrates, to be hanged for having opposed their contrivances. The duke of Mayenne, who saw himself on the point of being overpowered by this faction, had caused four of them to be hanged in return. In the midst of these divisions and horrors, the general estates were convoked at Paris, under the direction of the pope's legate and the Spanish ambassador; the legate himself sat as president in the chair of state, which was left empty, to denote the place of the king they should elect. The Spanish ambassador had likewise a seat in this assembly. He harangued against the Salique law, and proposed the infanta for queen. The parliament of Paris presented a remonstrance to the duke of Mayenne in favour of this law; but who does not perceive that this remonstrance had been previously concerted between the parliament and the duke? Would not the nomination of the infanta to the crown have deprived him

him of his office? and would not the proposed marriage of this princess with his nephew the duke of Guise, have made him the subject of a person whose master he was desirous of remaining?

During the sitting of this assembly, which was as tumultuous and divided as it was irregular, Henry was at the gates of Paris, and threatened to reduce it. He had some few friends in the city, and there were several true citizens, who, wearied with their sufferings and the yoke of a foreign power, sighed after peace; but the people were still biased by religion. The dregs of the people in this case gave law to the nobles, and the wisest men of the nation; they were blindly led, and fanatic; and Henry was not in a condition to imitate the examples of Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth. It was necessary therefore to change religion, which is always disagreeable to a noble soul. The laws of honour, which ever remain the same among a civilized people, however other things may alter, always affix a kind of infamy to such a change, dictated by interest; but this was so great, so general a concern, and so connected with the good of the kingdom, that the best servants the king had among the Calvinists advised him to embrace a religion which they themselves detested. "It is necessary," said the duke of Sully to him, that you should become a papist, and that I should remain a protestant." This was all that the league and the Spanish faction had to fear; the names of heretic and apostate were the principal arms they had against Henry, which his conversion would render useless.

less*. It was necessary for him to be instructed by the bishops, for form's sake; for in fact he knew more of the matter than those who pretended to instruct him. His mother had carefully brought him up in the knowledge of both the Old and New Testament, with which he was perfectly acquainted; and all his conversations turned upon controversial points in religion, as well as upon war and love. Quotations from scripture, and allusions to the sacred writings, formed what we call the *bel esprit* of those times; and the Bible was so familiar to Henry, that at the battle of Coutras, when he made one of the enemy's officers, named Chateau Renard, prisoner with his own hand, he cried out to him in the scripture-phrase, "Yield, Philistine."

We may sufficiently perceive what he himself thought of his conversion, by his letter to the fair Gabrielle †, in which he says, "To-morrow

* In the year 1592 the king heard mass at St. Denis, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges, in consequence of which a truce of three months was proclaimed, to the no small mortification of the leaguers; some of their preachers declaring from the pulpit, that no credit was to be given to the king's conversion, though published by an angel from heaven. Their harangues instigated one Pierre Barrier, a waterman, to undertake the assassination of the king; but he was discovered by an honest friar, one Seraphin Branchi, whom he consulted about the means of execution. He was apprehended at Meulan, and confessing his intention, put to death. The king had a very narrow escape from the poignard of this desperate fanatic; for, having occasion one day to alight upon the road, he gave this Barrier his horse to hold, supposing him to be a peasant.

† This lady was daughter of Anthony d'Estrées, seigneur de Cœuvres les Soissons, master of the artillery, and a man of

morrow is the day that I am to take the adventurous leap. I believe these people will make me hate St. Denis as much as you hate —." It is sacrificing truth to a false delicacy, to pretend, as father Daniel does, that Henry IV. had been a catholic in his heart long before his conversion. His conversion doubtless secured his eternal welfare, but it added nothing to his right to the crown.

In the conferences which he held, he made himself personally admired and esteemed by all who came from Paris to see him. One of the deputies, surprised at the familiarity with which

of a good character. He endeavoured as much as lay in his power to prevent her amours with Henry, which began in the year 1591; but these endeavours were baffled by her own inclination, and the management of her aunt, madame de Sourdis, who assisted the intrigue. Gabrielle is mentioned in history by the different names of mademoiselle de Cœuvres from her father's title; madame de Liancourt, or de la Roche Guyon, on account of her marriage with Nicholas D'Amerval, seigneur de Liancourt, and de la Roche Guyon; marchioness de Monceaux, and dutchess of Beaufort, from the titles bestowed upon her by the king. Though she was a weak woman, she had gained an absolute ascendancy over the mind of Henry, whom the love of this woman betrayed into a thousand dangers and indiscretions, that greatly prejudiced his character; she even aspired to the dignity of queen, although his queen Margaret was then alive; and he weakly counteracted this ambition. He even sent monsieur de Sillery to Rome, to solicit a divorce; and how far he might have carried his folly in this particular is not easily determined, had not death interposed and taken her off suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. By this lady Henry had two sons and a daughter, namely, Cæsar duke of Vendosme, Alexander grand prior of France, and Catherine Henrietta, who married Charles de Lorraine,

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his officers behaved towards him, who crouded about him so as hardly to leave him room ; “ You see nothing here, said he, they croud much more about me in the day of battle.” In short, after having taken the city of Dreux before he had learnt his new catechism, having made his abjuration in the church of St. Denis, having been anointed at Chartres, and having taken care to keep up a good correspondence in Paris, where there was at that time a garrison of three thousand Spaniards, besides Neapolitans and Lansquenets ; he entered that city as its king, with fewer soldiers than there were foreigners on the walls to be spectators of his entry.

Paris had not beheld nor owned a king for above fifteen years. This revolution was brought about by two persons only, the marechal of Brissac, and an honest citizen, whose name was less illustrious, though his soul was equally noble ; this was a sheriff of Paris, named L'Anglais. These two restorers of the public tranquillity soon got the magistrates and the principal citizens to join with them. They had taken their measures so well, and so artfully imposed upon the legate, cardinal Peleuvé, the Spanish officers, and the faction of sixteen, and kept them so well within bounds, that Henry IV. entered his capital almost without 1594 bloodshed. He sent all the foreigners home, though he might have made them prisoners, and pardoned all the leaguers.

Several cities followed the example of Paris : nevertheless, Henry was still far from being master of the kingdom. Philip II. whose design had been always to make himself necessary
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to the league, had hitherto hurt the king but by halves, but now he injured him in more than one province. Deceived in his expectation of reigning over the kingdom of France under his daughter's title, he now thought of nothing but dismembring it; and it seemed very probable that this kingdom would have been reduced to a worse state than when the English were in possession of one half of it, and particular nobles tyrannized over the other. The duke of Mayenne had Burgundy; the duke of Guise, son of Balafre, had Rheims, and a part of Champagne; the duke of Mercœur possessed Britany; and the Spaniards Blavet, which is now Port Louis. Even those who had been chief officers under Henry, aimed at becoming independent: and the Calvinists, whose party he had quitted, fortified themselves against the leaguers, and began to contrive means for resisting the royal authority. Henry was forced to recover his kingdom foot by foot, partly by intrigue and partly by force; and notwithstanding his being master of Paris, his authority was for some time so weak, that pope Clement VIII. continued to refuse him absolution, of which he would not have stood in need in less troublesome times. None of the religious orders prayed for him in their convents; and in short the Roman Catholic part of the populace were so possessed with the fury of fanaticism, that scarce a year passed without some attempt against his life. He was continually employed in fighting against one or another head of a party, in subduing, pardoning, negotiating, and purchasing the submission of his enemies. Would one think that it cost him two millions of the currency of those times to satisfy

satisfy the claims of the *grandeess*? and yet the duke of Sully's *Memoirs* prove it beyond contradiction; and that he punctually fulfilled all these pecuniary engagements when he came to the absolute and quiet possession of his kingdom, and might have refused to pay the price of rebellion. The duke of Mayenne did not make his peace with him till the year 1596. Henry was sincerely reconciled to him, and made him, governor of the isle of France. One day that he had wearied the duke in walking with him, he said, "Cousin, this is the only injury I will do you whilst I live;" in which he kept his word, as he did with every one.

He at length recovered his kingdom, but in a poor and shattered condition, to the full as bad as it had been in the reigns of Philip of Valois, John, and Charles VI. Several of the high roads were over-run with briars, and new paths struck out across the countries, which lay neglected and uncultivated. Paris, which at present contains upwards of seven hundred thousand inhabitants*, had not then above one hundred and eighty thousand†. The public finances, which had been dissipated under the reign of Henry III. were now only the remains of the blood of the people openly trafficked for

* At that rate Paris must be more populous than London, which, by the best and latest calculations, contains about six hundred thousand inhabitants.

† At the time that Paris was besieged by Henry IV. in 1590, there were two hundred and twenty thousand souls in that city: in 1593 there were but one hundred and eighty thousand.

between the officers of the treasury and the king's farmers.

The queen of England, the grand duke of Florence, the German princes, and the Dutch, had lent him money to support himself against the league and the courts of Rome and Spain. To pay these just debts, the general receipts and the demesnes were made over to the collectors of these foreign powers, who had the management of all the revenues of the state in the heart of the kingdom. Several chiefs of the league who had sold the king that fidelity they owed to him, had likewise receivers of the public revenues in their name, and shared amongst them this part of the royal prerogative. Those who farmed these alienated dues, exacted three, nay four times their value from the people, and what remained to the king were managed in the same manner; and at length when the general depredation obliged Henry to commit the whole management of the revenues into the hands of the duke of Sully; that minister, whose knowledge was equal to his integrity, found in 1596, that above one hundred and fifty millions were raised upon the people, to bring about thirty into the king's treasury.

Had Henry IV. been only the bravest, most merciful, most upright, and most honest man of his age, his kingdom must have been infallibly ruined. It required a prince who knew equally well how to make war and peace, who was acquainted with all the wounds of his kingdom, and the remedies to be applied to them; who was capable of attending to the most important and most trivial affairs, of re-
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forming whatever was amiss, and of doing every thing that could be done ; all these qualifications met in Henry IV. To the policy of Charles the Wise, he added the openness of Francis I. and the goodness of Lewis XII.

To provide for all these pressing wants, and to carry on so many different negociations and wars, Henry found it necessary to call an assembly of the chief men of the kingdom at Rouen ; this was a kind of general estates. The speech he made to this assembly is still fresh in the memory of every good citizen, who is the least acquainted with the history of his own country. It was as follows :

“ Already, by the blessing of heaven, the advice of my faithful servants, and the swords of my brave nobles, among whom I also include my princes, as the quality of gentleman is our fairest title, I have extricated this kingdom from servitude and ruin. I am now desirous to restore it to its antient splendor ; I invite you therefore to partake in this second glory, in like manner as you had a share in the first. I have not called you together, as my predecessors have done, to oblige you to approve blindly of my will, but to receive your advice, to confide in it, to follow it, and to put myself entirely into your hands. Such an intention has seldom been found in kings, in conquerors, or in grey-beards ; but the love I bear to all my subjects, makes every thing possible and honourable to me.” This eloquence, which flowed from the heart of an hero, far transcends all the boasted harangues of antiquity.

In the midst of all these toils and dangers, the Spaniards surprised the city of Amiens, which

the inhabitants attempted to defend themselves. This fatal privilege, which belonged to them, and which they made so bad an use of, served only to subject their city to plunder, to expose all Picardy, and to give new courage to those who attempted to dismember the kingdom. Henry at the time of this fresh misfortune was in want of money, and in an ill state of health; nevertheless he assembles a few troops, marches to the borders of Picardy, flies back again to Paris, and writes a letter with his own hand to the parliaments and principal communities, "For necessities to feed those who defended the state;" these are his own words. He goes in person to the parliament of Paris; "Give me but an army, says he, and I will joyfully lay down my life to defend you, and succour the kingdom." He proposed the creation of new posts, in order to raise the speedy supplies that were wanting; but the parliament, looking upon these resources as an additional calamity to the nation, refused to verify the edicts, and the king was obliged to issue several mandatory letters before he could procure means to lavish his blood at the head of his nobility.

At length by loans, and the indefatigable pains and oeconomy of Raimond de Sully, that worthy servant of so illustrious a master, he found means to assemble a fine army, which was the only one for upwards of thirty years that had gone to the field provided with all necessities, and the first that had a regular hospital, in which the sick and wounded were taken care of, in a manner to which they had hitherto been strangers. Before that every company had taken care of its wounded men as well as it

could, and as many had been lost through the want of proper care as by the fortune of arms.

He now retook Amiens, in sight of the archduke Albert, and obliged him to retire. From thence he hastened to suppress the troubles in other parts of the kingdom, till at length he saw himself master of all France. The pope, who had refused him absolution when he was but weakly established, granted it to him as soon as he saw him victorious. Nothing now remained but to make peace with Spain, which was concluded at Vervins; and this was the first advantageous treaty that France had made since the time of Philip Augustus.

He now employed all his endeavours to polish and aggrandize the kingdom he had conquered. He disbanded the useless troops, he substituted order and decorum in the public revenues, in the room of the hateful rapine which had hitherto prevailed in them. He paid off the debts of the crown by degrees, and without stripping the people. The peasants to this day repeat a saying of his, which, though trifling in itself, shews a fatherly tenderness, that he wished "they had a chicken in the pot every Sunday." He made an improvement in the administration of justice, and, what was still more difficult, he brought the two religions to live peaceably with each other, at least in appearance. Commerce and the arts were held in honour. The manufactories for gold and silver stuffs, which had been forbidden by a sumptuary edict, in the beginning of a troublesome and necessitous reign, were now revived with double lustre, and enriched the city of Lyons and all France. He also established ma-

nufactories for raised work in tapestry, both of woollen and silk, interwoven with gold. And they began to make small plate glasses, after the manner of those at Venice. It was to him alone that the nation was indebted for its silk-worms, and the planting of mulberry-trees, against the opinion of the great Sully, who excelled in his faithful and expert management of the finances, but was no friend to new inventions. Henry likewise caused the canal of Briare to be dug, by which the river Seine is joined to the Loire. He beautified and enlarged the city of Paris, made the place royal, or king's square, and repaired all the bridges. The suburb of St. Germain did not at that time join to the city, and was not paved; the king undertook to do this, and built that beautiful and noble bridge where the people still behold his statue with an affectionate remembrance. He enlarged, and in a manner rebuilt the royal palaces of St. Germain, Monceaux, Fontainebleau, and the Louvre, particularly the latter; and appointed apartments in the long gallery of the Louvre, which he built himself, for artists in all branches, whom he not only encouraged by his protection, but frequently rewarded. Lastly, he was the real founder of the royal library.

When don Pedro of Toledo was sent as ambassador to Henry by Philip III. he hardly knew that city again, which he had formerly seen in so unhappy and languishing a condition. "The reason is, said Henry to him, that at that time the master of the family was absent, but now that he is at home to take care of his children, they thrive and do well."

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The gaieties and diversions which had been introduced at court by Catherine of Medicis, in the midst of the troubles, were under Henry IV. the ornaments of a peaceful and happy reign.

By rendering his own kingdom thus flourishing, he became the arbiter of others. The popes never imagined, in the time of the league, that the Gascon would one day become the pacificator of Italy, and a mediator between them and the state of Venice, and yet Paul V. was very glad to apply to him for his assistance to extricate him from the unadvised step he had taken in excommunicating the doge and senate of Venice, and laying the whole republic under an interdict, on account of certain lawful rights which the senate maintained with its accustomed vigour. Henry was made arbiter in this dispute; and he whom the popes had excommunicated, now obliged them to take off the excommunication from Venice*.

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* Father Daniel relates a particular circumstance which appears very extraordinary, and which is related by no other author. He says, that Henry IV. after having reconciled the pope and the republic of Venice, spoilt the agreement himself, by communicating to the pope's nuncio at Paris, an intercepted letter of a minister of Geneva, in which this minister boasts that the doge of Venice, and several of the senators, were protestants in their hearts, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of declaring themselves; that father Fulgentio, of the order of the Servites, the companion and friend of the famous Sarpi, so well known by the name of Fra Paolo, "laboured with much success in this vineyard." He adds, that Henry IV. ordered his ambassador to shew this letter to the

He protected the infant-republic of Holland, supplied it with money from his private purse, and contributed not a little in making the court of Spain acknowledge it a free and independent state.

His reputation was now established both at home and abroad, and he was esteemed the greatest man of his age. The emperor Ro-

senate, only striking out the doge's name. But after Daniel has related the substance of this letter, in which Fra Paolo's name is not to be found, yet he says that this Fra Paolo was mentioned and accused in the copy of the letter shewn to the senate. He does not name the minister who wrote this pretended intercepted letter. It is likewise to be observed that the Jesuits are concerned in this letter, who had been banished from the republic of Venice. In short, father Daniel makes use of this story, which he ascribes to Henry IV. as a proof of that prince's zeal for the catholic religion. It would have been an odd zeal in Henry to throw dissention into the midst of the Venetian senate, who were his best allies, and to mingle the despicable personage of an incendiary with the glorious one of a peace-maker. It is very possible that there might be a real or fictitious letter from a Genevan minister, and that this letter produced some little intrigues quite foreign to the great objects of history; but it is not in the least probable that Henry IV. should have descended to the meanness which Daniel pretends to honour him for; adding, "That whosoever has connections with heretics, is either of their religion, or of no religion at all." This odious reflection is even against Henry IV. who had the most connections with the reformed of any man of his time. It is to be wished that father Daniel had entered more minutely into the administration of Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, rather than have descended to all these trifling circumstances, which shew more partiality than equity, and unfortunately discover the author to be more of a Jesuit than a citizen. The count of Boulainvilliers is much in the right when he says, that it is almost impossible that a Jesuit should ever write a good history of France.

dolph was only famous among philosophers and chymists. Philip II. had never fought a battle, and was after all only an indefatigable, gloomy, and dissembling tyrant; and his prudence was by no means to be compared with the courage and openness of Henry IV. who with all his vivacity was as deep a politician as himself. Elizabeth had acquired a great reputation; but not having had the same difficulties to surmount, she could not challenge the same glory. That which she really deserved was dimmed by the double dealings with which she was accused, and stained by the blood of Mary queen of Scots, which could never be washed away. Sixtus V. had raised himself a name by the obelisks which he had caused to be raised, and the noble monuments with which he beautified Rome. But exclusive of this merit, which is far from being of the first rank, he would never have been known to the world otherwise than for having obtained the pontificate by fifteen years of continual falsity, and a severity which even bordered upon cruelty.

Those who still reproach Henry so bitterly on account of his amours, do not reflect that his weaknesses were those of the best of men, and that they never prevented him from attending to the good government of his kingdom. This he gave sufficient proofs of when he made preparations for acting as the arbiter of Europe, in the affair relating to the succession of Juliers. It is a ridiculous calumny in le Vassor, and some other compilers, to assert that Henry engaged in this war only on account of the young princess of Condé: we should rather believe the duke of Sully, who candidly owns the

weaknesses of this monarch, and at the same time proves that the king's great designs had not the least connection with any love affair. It certainly was not on the prince's of Conde's account that Henry made the treaties of Quierasque, secured all the Italian powers, and the protestant princes of Germany in his interest, and proposed to put the finishing hand to his glory, by holding the balance of Europe.

He was ready to march into Germany at the head of forty thousand men. He had forty millions in reserve, immense preparations, sure alliances, skilful generals formed under himself; the protestant princes of Germany, and the new republic of the Netherlands ready to second him; every thing seemed to promise certain success. The pretended division of Europe into fifteen principalities is known to be an idle chimera that never entered his head*. If he had

* If we may believe the duke de Sully, it certainly entered his head, and was the object of his perpetual meditation. He imagined that the states of Europe might be united into a kind of christian common-wealth, the peace of which might be maintained by establishing a senate by which all differences should be determined; and he conceived that such a confederacy might easily overturn the Ottoman power. The number of the states to be thus united was fifteen, namely, the papacy, the empire of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, Great Britain, Bohemia, Lombardy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, the republic of Venice, the States General, the Swiss cantons, and the Italian commonwealth, to consist of Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Modena, Parma, Mantua, and Monaco. In order to reduce these states to a sort of political equality, he proposed that the empire should be given to the duke of Bavaria; Naples, to the pope; Sicily, to the Venetians; Milan, to the duke of Savoy, who should become king of Lombardy; the Austrian Low Countries,

had ever entered upon a negotiation relating to so extraordinary a design, we should have found some traces of it either in England, in Venice, or in Holland, with whom it is supposed that Henry concerted matters for this revolution; but there is no such thing, and this project is neither true nor likely: but by his alliances, his arms, and his oeconomy, he was on the point of altering the system, and of rendering himself the arbiter of Europe. In a word, he complicated the career of his glory.

Were we to give this faithful description of Henry IV. to a stranger of good understanding, who had never heard him spoken of before, and were to conclude with telling him, that this is the man who was assassinated in the midst of his people, and whose life had been several times attempted, and that by men to whom he had never done the least injury, he would not believe it.

It is a very deplorable thing, that the same religion which enjoins the forgiveness of injuries, should have occasioned so many murders to be committed, and this only in consequence of the maxim, that all who think differently from us are in a state of reprobation, and that we are bound to hold such in abhorrence.

to the Dutch; Franche Compté, Alsace, and the country of Trent to the Swiss. After all, this was a visionary scheme, which could not have been executed without involving all Europe in war and confusion: for how well soever it might have been relished by those states who were to be gainers by it, it must have been obstinately opposed by all the powers that were to be dismembred, especially the house of Austria, which Henry without all doubt intended to crush.

It is still more strange, that the catholics did not conspire against the life of this excellent king till after he became a catholic. The first who made an attempt upon his life at the very time that he was making his abjuration at St. Dennis, was a wretch from the dregs of the people named Peter Barriere. He had some scruples when the king had made his abjuration ; but was confirmed in his design by a few of the most furious of the leaguers, namely, Aubri, curate of St. Andrew des Arts, a capuchin friar, a regular priest, and Varade rector of the Jesuits college. The famous Stephen Paquier, advocate general to the chamber of accounts, declares that he was informed from the mouth of this Barriere himself, that he had been encouraged to this action by Varade. This accusation receives an additional degree of probability from the flight of Varade and Aubri, who took refuge at the cardinal legate's, and accompanied him when he returned to Rome, at the time that Henry IV entered Paris. And what renders this probability still more strong is, that Varade and Aubri were afterwards quartered in effigies by an edict of the parliament of Paris, as we find related in the journal of Henry IV. Father Daniel uses unpardonable endeavours to disculpate the jesuit Varade ; whereas, the curates take no pains to justify the unwarrantable violence of the curates of those times. The Sorbonne acknowledges the detestable decrees it issued ; the Dominicans still agree that their brother Clement assassinated Henry III. and that he was instigated to this murder by the prior Burgoin. Truth is superior to every consideration and regard, and it

is the voice of truth that no churchman of the present time is obliged to answer for, or blush at the bloody maxims and barbarous superstition of their predecessors, since there is not one of them who does not hold them in abhorrence: it only preserves the remembrance of these crimes; to the end that they may never be imitated.

So universal was the spirit of fanaticism at that time, that a weak Carthusian friar, named Owen, was persuaded that he should gain a quicker admittance into heaven by murdering Henry IV. This unhappy wretch was shut up in a mad house by his superiors: In the beginning of the year 1599, two Jacobine friars of Flanders, the one named Arger, and the other Ridicovi, originally of Italy, resolved to revive the action of their brother James Clement: the plot was discovered, and their lives paid the forfeit of a crime they did not commit. Their punishment did not deter a capuchin friar of Milan, who came to Paris with the same design, and was hanged like them.

The attempt made by John Chatel is the strongest proof we can have of the mad spirit which reigned at that time: born of an honest family, of rich parents, who brought him up well, young, and void of experience in the world, not having quite attained his nineteenth year, it was impossible that he should have formed this desperate resolution of himself. We know that he wounded the king with a knife in the Louvre, but struck him only on the mouth, because this good prince, who had a custom of embracing all his servants whenever they came to pay their court to him after a long absence,

was at that time stooping to embrace Montigni*.

He persisted at his first examination, "That he had done a meritorious action, and that the king not having yet received absolution from the pope, he might kill him with a safe conscience." This alone is sufficient to prove that he was seduced to commit this crime.

He had long been a student in the Jesuits college. Amongst all the dangerous superstitions of those times, there was one very well calculated to delude minds, this was the meditating chamber, in which a young man was shut up: the walls were painted with figures of devils, torments, and flames, and lighted with a dim taper: weak and susceptible imaginations have frequently been struck with these horrors even to madness; and it was with this kind of madness that the unhappy wretch we have mentioned was seized, and thought that he should redeem his soul from hell by assassinating his sovereign.

It is beyond doubt that the judges would have been wanting in their duty had they neglected to examine the Jesuits papers, especially after John Chatel had owned that he had often heard it said among these monks, that it was lawful to kill the king.

* The blow was struck with such a force as to beat out one of the king's teeth, though it was certainly intended for his throat. The count de Soissons, who stood by the king, perceiving a young man change colour, and endeavour to escape, laid hold of him, saying, "Friend, either you or I have wounded the king." He was the son of Peter Chastell, a rich draper, a person of very weak intellects, driven to a kind of religious despair.

They found among the papers of the professor Guignard, these words written with his own hand, "That neither Henry III. Henry IV. queen Elizabeth, the king of Sweden, nor the elector of Saxony, were real kings; that Henry III. was a Sardanapalus; the Gascon a fox; Elizabeth, a she-wolf; the king of Sweden, a griffin; and the elector of Saxony, a hog." This was called eloquence. "James Clement, adds this writer, did an heroic action, and was inspired by the Holy Ghost. If war can be made upon the Gascon, make war upon him, if not, let him be assassinated."

It is very strange that Guignard had not burnt this writing the moment that he heard of Chatel's attempt. They apprehended his person, and that of Gueret, professor of an absurd science they called philosophy, and of which Chatel had long been a student. Guignard was hanged, and afterwards burnt; and Gueret having made no confession when put to the torture, was only condemned to be banished the kingdom, together with all the rest of the Jesuits.

Prejudice must certainly draw a very tight bandage over the eyes of men since the Jesuit Jouvenci, in his history of the company of Jesus, compares Guignard and Gueret "To the primitive christians who were persecuted by Nero." He particularly praises Guignard for refusing to ask pardon of the king and the court, when he performed the *amende honorable*, with a lighted taper in his hand, with his writings pinned upon his back. He represents Guignard as a martyr, who asks forgiveness of God, because after all he might still be a sinner; but who,

not.

notwithstanding the dictates of his conscience, would never acknowledge that he had offended the king. How could he have offended him more than by declaring in writing that he ought to be murdered, unless he had murdered him himself? Jouvenci considers the arret of the parliament as a most iniquitous sentence. *Meminimus*, says he, & *ignoscimus*, "We remember it, but we forgive it." It is certain that the sentence was severe, but doubtless it cannot appear unjust, if we consider the writings of the Jesuit Guignard, the furious follies of another Jesuit named Hay, the confession of John Chatel, the writings of Toleus, Belarmin, Mariana, Emanuel Sa, Suarez, Salmeron, Molina, the letters of the Jesuits of Naples, and the number of other writings in which this wicked doctrine of king-killing is found. It is true that Chatel had not been advised by any of the Jesuits; but it is likewise as true, that while he was a student among them, he had heard this doctrine, which was at that time too common.

How can the banishment of the Jesuits in these times be looked upon as so very unjust, when no complaint is made of the treatment of the father and mother of John Chatel, who were guilty of no other crime than that of having brought into the world an unhappy creature, whose understanding had been perverted? These unhappy parents were condemned to be banished and do penance; their house was levelled to the ground, and a pillar erected on the place where it stood, with the crime and sentence engraven on it; and where it is said that the court has for ever banished this society.

society of a new kind and a devilish superstition, which had instigated John Chatel to this horrid crime. It is farther worthy of observation, that the arret of the parliament was inserted in the Roman index. All this demonstrates that these were times of fanaticism; that if the Jesuits had, in common with others, taught these dreadful maxims, they appeared more dangerous than others, because they had the education of youth; that they were punished for past faults, which three years before had not been considered as faults in Paris; and lastly, that the unhappiness of those times rendered this arret of the parliament necessary.

These dreadful examples, however, did not destroy the spirit of the league, and Henry IV. at length fell a victim to it. Ravallac had for some time been a mendicant friar, and his mind was still heated with what he had heard in his youth. Never did superstition in any age produce such dreadful effects. This unhappy wretch thought exactly as John Chatel had done, that he should divert the wrath of God by murdering Henry IV. The people said that the king was going to make war upon the pope, because he was going to assist the protestants in Germany. Germany was at that time divided by two leagues, the one called the evangelical, which was composed of almost all the protestant princes, and the other the catholic, at the head of which they had put the pope's name. Henry protected the protestant league; this was the sole cause of his being murdered: for we must credit the constant deposition of Ravallac. He declared, without ever varying, that he had no accomplice, and that he had
been

been urged to this action by an instinct which he could not overcome. He signed his deposition, of which some sheets were afterwards found in the year 1720, by a secretary of the parliament, and which I have seen: his abominable name is distinctly written, and under it in the same hand, this distich:

*Que toujours dans mon cœur
Jésus soit le vainqueur.*

“For ever in my heart
“Let Christ have the first part.”

A fresh proof that this monster was no other than a furious madman; and it is a great instance of the force of destiny, that France should have been deprived of Henry IV. and the state of Europe changed by such a man. Some have dared to impute this crime to the house of Austria, others to Mary of Medicis the king's consort, to Balzac d'Entragues his mistress, and to the duke of Epemon; these invidious insinuations, which Mezeray and others have copied without properly examining them, destroy each other, and only serve to shew the great credulity of human malice.

Ravaillac† was only the blind instrument of the spirit of times equally blind. Barriére,
Cha-

† This infamous miscreant had for some time followed the king in his excursions, in quest of an opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpose. That very morning he intended to have stabbed him at the Feuillans, where he went to hear mass, but was hindered by the interposition of the duke de Vendôme. After dinner the king appeared extremely

Chatel, Quin the Carthusian, and the vicar of St. Nicholas des Champs hanged in 1595, a tapestry weaver in 1596, a wretch who was, or pretended to be mad, and others whose names have escaped my memory, all attempted the same murder; they were all young, and all of the dregs of the people, so much does religion become fury in the minds of the com-

tremely uneasy, and leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to say softly, "My God! what is this that will not suffer me to be quiet?" About four in the afternoon he went into his coach with the duke d'Epemon, the duke de Montbazou, the marquis de la Force, the marquis de Mirebeau, messieurs de Ravardin, Roquetaur, and Liancourt, and ordered the coachman to drive to the cross of Tiroy. From thence it proceeded to the church-yard of St. Innocent; then turning into the Rue de la Ferroniere, which was very narrow, there was a stop, occasioned by two loaded carts. The king had sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations for the queen's entry: all the pages had gone round another way except two, one of whom went before to clear the way, while the other stopped behind to tie up his garter. Ravaillac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his shocking purpose. He mounted on the coach wheel, and with a long knife sharp on both sides, struck the king over the shoulder of the duke d'Epemon. Henry exclaiming, "I am wounded," the assassin repeated the blow with greater force, and the knife penetrated the thorax, divided the vena cava, so that the king expired immediately. Ravaillac was not seen by any person while he performed this atrocious murder; and if he had thrown down the knife under the coach, he might have escaped unnoticed: but he stood on the wheel like a statue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up, would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epemon called aloud, "Save him on your life," and the miscreant was taken alive. Every body knows the nature of the torments to which this desperate fanatic was subjected.

mon people and youth. Of all the assassins which this horrible age produced, only Poluot de Mère * was a gentleman.



CHAP. CXLV.

OF FRANCE under the Reign of LEWIS XIII. till the Administration of Cardinal de RICHELIEU. General Estates held in France. Misfortunes in the Administration. The Marechal d'ANCRE assassinated; his wife condemned to be burnt. Administration of the Duke de LUINÈS. Civil wars. In what Manner Cardinal RICHELIEU came into the Council.

AFTER the death of Henry IV. † it was seen how much the power, credit, manners, and spirit of a nation frequently depend

* The protestant fanatic who assassinated the duke of Guise at the siege of Orleans, in the year 1563.

† This great prince often expressed his desire of accomplishing ten things, which were called his ten wishes, viz. God's grace and assistance; the preservation of his senses to the hour of his death; the security of the protestant religion; a divorce from his first wife Margaret, with whom he lived unhappily; the restoration of the antient splendor of France; the recovery of Navarre, Flanders, or Artois, from Spain; a victory gained in person over the catholic king, and another against the grand signor; the reduction of his protestant subjects to obedience, without having recourse to violence; the humiliation of the dukes of Epernon, Bouillon, and Tremouille, so that they should implore his clemency; and finally, the execution of his grand design.

upon a single man. This prince had by a vigorous, yet gentle administration, kept all orders of the state in union, lulled all factions to sleep, maintained peace between the two religions, and kept his people in plenty. He held the balance of Europe in his hands by his alliance, his riches, and his arms. All these advantages were lost in the very first year of the regency of his widow, Mary of Medicis. The duke of Epemon, the haughty minion of Henry III. the secret enemy to Henry IV. and the declared one of his ministers, went to the parliament the very day that Henry was assassinated. Epemon as colonel-general of the infantry, had the command of the regiment of guards: he entered the assemblies with his hand on his sword, and obliged the parliament to assume to itself the right of disposing of the regency, a right which till then had belonged only to the general estates. It has been an established law in all nations, that those who have a right to nominate a person to fill the throne when vacant, have likewise that of appointing the regency. To make a king is the first of all rights; to appoint a regent is the second, and this supposes the first. The parliament of Paris then tried the cause of the vacant throne, and disposed of the supreme power, by being forced to it by the duke of Epemon, and because that there had not been time to assemble the three orders of the state.

It published an arret, declaring Mary of Medicis sole regent. The next day the queen came to have the decree confirmed in presence of her son; and the chancellor de Sillery, in
that

that ceremony which is called the bed of justice†, took the opinions of the presidents before that of the peers, and even the princes of the blood, who pretended to a share in the regency.

You see by this, and you may have frequently remembered, how rights and customs are established, and how what has been once solemnly done contrary to the ancient rules, becomes itself a rule thenceforward, till some future occasion causes it to be laid aside.

Mary of Medicis thus appointed regent, tho' not mistress of the kingdom, lavished in making of creatures all that Henry the Great had amassed to render his nation powerful. The army he had raised to carry the war into Germany was disbanded, the princes he had taken under his protection were abandoned. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, the new ally
1610 of Henry IV. was obliged to ask pardon of Philip III. of Spain, for having entered into a treaty with the French king, and sent his son to Madrid to implore the mercy of the Spanish court, and to humble himself as a subject in his father's name. The princes of Germany, whom Henry had protected with an army of forty thousand men, now found themselves almost without assistance. The state lost all its

† When the king of France goes to parliament to hold a bed of justice, the different chambers assemble in their red robes, with scarlet copes, the presidents having their mantles and copes of scarlet, with their caps called mortiers. The king is seated upon a throne under a canopy of blue velvet, powdered with golden flowers de lis. The first president begins his harangue on his knees; but the king bids him rise, and allows him to speak standing. The same ceremony is observed towards the advocate general.

credit abroad, and was distracted at home. The princes of the blood and the great nobles filled France with factions, as in the times of Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. and as afterwards, during the minority of Lewis XIV.

At length an assembly of the general estates* was called at Paris, the last 1614 that was held in France. The parliament of Paris was not admitted to a seat in it. Its deputies had assisted at the great assembly of the chief men of the kingdom, held at Rouen in 1594; but this was not a convocation of the general estates; the intendants of the finances,

* The states general of France were composed of three orders, the clergy, the noblesse, and the tiers etat, or third estate, consisting of magistrates representing the people. They were convoked occasionally, at the pleasure of the king, by his edict directed to the different parliaments, which distributed these edicts to the bailies and inferior judges. They were called to give their advice and assistance to the sovereign, and deliberate upon the state of the nation in all emergencies. In this last assembly of the states-general of France, the chamber of the clergy consisted of one hundred and forty deputies, including cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastics: there were one hundred and thirty-two members in the chambre of the noblesse; and in that of the third estate one hundred and ninety-two deputies, mostly officers of justice, or of the revenue. In the general procession the tiers-etat went before, the noblesse came after, and lastly the clergy. During their session, Lewis XIII. being a child, was placed upon an elevated seat, accompanied by the queen-mother, monsieur the king's brother, the princes and great officers of the crown, placed each according to his rank, on a large theatre. The clergy were seated on benches to the right, the noblesse to the left, and behind them the tiers-etat. Cardinal Joyeuse was president for the clergy, baron de Senecey for the noblesse, and the prevot des marchands of Paris for the third order.

and the treasurers, had taken their seats there as well as the magistrates.

The university formally summoned the chamber of the clergy to receive it as one of the members of the estates, alledging that it was its ancient privilege; but the university had lost its privileges with its credit, as the minds of the people became more free, though not more enlightened.

These estates thus assembled in haste, had no trustees for the laws and customs of the kingdom, like the parliament of England, and the diets of the empire; they had no part in the supreme legislature, and yet they wanted to be law-givers; a privilege naturally sought after by every body which is the representative of a nation. From the private ambition of each individual, is formed a general ambition.

The most remarkable thing which happened in these estates was, that the clergy in vain demanded that the council of Trent should be received in France; and the third estate, with as little success, demanded the publication of the law, "That no power, spiritual or temporal, has a right to dispose of the kingdom, or to release the subjects from their oath of allegiance; and that the opinion of its being lawful to kill kings is impious and detestable."

It was the third estate in particular, who moved for this law, after having attempted to depose Henry III. and suffering the utmost extremities of famine, rather than acknowledge Henry IV. But the factions of the league were extinguished, and the third estate, which makes the principal part of the nation, and cannot have any private interest, was attached to the crown,

crown, and detested the pretensions of the court of Rome. Cardinal de Perron on this occasion forgot what he owed to the blood of Henry IV. and thought only of the interest of the church. He strongly opposed this law, and suffered himself to be carried away so far as to declare, "That he should be obliged to excommunicate all those who should persist in maintaining that the church has not the power of deposing kings." He added at the same time, that the pope's power "was full, most full, directly in spiritual matters, and indirectly in temporal." The ecclesiastical chamber, which was governed by the cardinal, persuaded the chamber of the noblesse to join with it. The body of the noblesse had always been jealous of the clergy, but it affected to think in every thing different from the third estates. The question now in dispute was, whether the spiritual and temporal powers had a right to dispose of the crown? The body of nobles, tho' it did not declare so much, thought itself essentially a temporal power. The cardinal told them, "That if a king should go about to force his subjects to become Arians or Mahometans, he ought to be deposed." This was a very unreasonable speech, for there had been a number of emperors and kings who were Arians, and yet had not been deposed on that account. This supposition, however chimerical and absurd as it was, persuaded the deputies of the noblesse that there were some cases in which the chiefs of the nation might dethrone their sovereign; and this privilege, though distant, was so flattering to self-love, that the noblesse were desirous of sharing it with the clergy. The ecclesiastical chamber

chamber signified to the third estate, that it was indeed their opinion that it was not lawful to kill the king, but were resolute as to the rest.

In the midst of this strange dispute, the parliament issued an arret, declaring it to be a fundamental law of the state, that the throne was absolutely independent.

It was doubtless the interest of the court to support the demand of the third estate, and the arret of parliament, after the many troubles which had endangered the throne in preceding reigns. Nevertheless the court gave way to cardinal Perron, the clergy, and the court of Rome, with which latter it was particularly desirous to keep fair, and suppressed an opinion on which its own safety was founded, from a persuasion at that time, that this truth would never be really opposed by any future event, and from a desire to put an end to disputes which were of too delicate and disagreeable a nature: it even suppressed the arret of parliament, on pretence that that court had not the least right to determine concerning the deliberations of the estates; that it had been wanting in the respect due to them; and that it did not belong to it to make fundamental laws. Thus did the court wrest the arms out of the hands of those who were fighting for it, as thinking it should have no need of them. At length the result of this assembly was, the laying open all the grievances of the kingdom, without being able to redress one.

France remained in confusion, and governed by one Concini, a Florentine, who rose to be marechal of France without ever having drawn a sword, and prime minister without know-

knowing any thing of the laws. It was sufficient that he was a foreigner for the princes to be displeased with him.

Mary of Medicis was in a very unhappy situation, for she could not share her authority with the prince of Condé, chief of the malecontents, without being deprived of it altogether; nor trust it in the hands of Concini, without displeasing the whole kingdom. Henry prince of Condé, father of the great Condé, and son to him who had gained the battle of Coutras, in conjunction with Henry IV. put himself at the head of a party, and took up arms. The court made a dissembled peace with him, and afterwards clapt 1616 him up in the Bastile.

This had been the fate of his father and grandfather, and was afterwards that of his son. His confinement encreased the number of the malecontents. The Guises, who had formerly been implacable enemies to the Condé family, now joined with them. The duke of Vendome, son to Henry IV. the duke of Nevers, of the house of Gonzaga, the marechal de Bouillon, and all the rest of the malecontents, fortified themselves in the provinces, protesting that they continued true to their king, and made war only against the prime minister.

Concini *, marechal d'Ancre, secure of the queen regent's protection, braved them all. He raised

* A native of the county of Penna in Tuscany. He followed Mary of Medicis, who appointed him her gentleman-usher, and afterwards made him gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king her son. He owed his fortune to the

raised seven thousand men at his own expence, to support the royal authority, or rather his own, and this step proved his ruin. It is true that he raised these troops by virtue of a commission from the king ; but it was a great misfortune to France that a stranger, who had come thither without any fortune, should have wherewithal to raise as strong an army as that with which Henry IV. had recovered his kingdom. Almost the whole nation combined against him could not procure his fall ; and a young man, of whom he had not the least apprehension, and who was a stranger like himself, caused his ruin, and all the misfortunes of Mary of Medicis.

Charles Albert of Luines, born in the county of Avignon, had, with his two brothers, been taken into the number of gentlemen in ordinary to the king, and the companions of his education. He had insinuated himself into the good graces and confidence of the young monarch,

of his wife Leonora Galigai, who was the queen's favourite. He was created marquis d'Ancre, governor of Normandy, marechal of France, and had a considerable share in the administration, during the minority of Lewis XIII. He incurred the hatred of the French, by his insolence, ambition, and avarice, tho' perhaps at bottom they thought his greatest crime was his being a foreigner. When he first quitted Florence, one of his friends asking him what he was going to make in France, he replied, " My fortune, or perish." Christina of Lorraine, grand dutchess of Tuscany, having employed a person in whom she could confide, to advise him in her name to bring his ship softly into harbour, in order to avoid the tempest that seemed ready to burst upon his head ; he declared, that while the wind was astern, he would keep the sea and continue his voyage, that he might see how far the gale of fortune would carry a favourite.

by

by his dexterity in bird-catching. It was never supposed that these childish amusements would end in a bloody revolution. The marechal d'Ancre had given him the government of Amboise, thinking by that to make him his creature; but this young man conceived the design of murdering his benefactor, banishing the queen, and governing himself; all which he accomplished without meeting with any obstacle. He soon found means of persuading the king that he was capable of reigning alone, though he was not then quite seventeen years old, and told him that the queen-mother and Concini kept him in confinement. The young king, to whom in his childhood they had given the name of Just, consented to the murder of his prime minister; the marquis of Vitri, captain 1617 of the king's guards, du Hallier his brother, Persan, and others, were sent to dispatch him, who finding him in the court of the Louvre, shot him dead with their pistols: upon this they cried out *Vive le roi*, as if they had gained a battle, and Lewis XIII. appearing at a window, cried out, *now I am king*. The queen-mother had her guards taken from her, and was confined to her own apartment, and afterwards banished to Blois. The place of marechal of France, held by Concini, was given to the marquis of Vitri, his murderer. The like honour had been conferred by the queen-mother on Thémynes, for seizing the prince of Condé; this made the duke of Bouillon say, that he was ashamed of being a marechal, since that dignity had been made the reward of a bailiff and an assassin.

The populace, who are always in extremes, and always cruel when let loose, ran to St. Germain l'Auxerrois, where Concini had been buried, dug up his dead body, dragged it thro' the streets, and cut out the heart; nay, there were some of them so brutal, as to broil it upon a fire and eat it. His body they afterwards hung upon a gibbet. There was still a spirit of fierceness in the nation, which, though softened for a time by the happy years of Henry IV. and the taste for the arts, which had been introduced by Mary of Medicis, was still breaking out upon the least occasion. The populace treated the remains of the marechal d'Ancre in this cruel manner, only because he was a foreigner, and had been powerful.

The famous Nani in his history, the marechal d'Estrées in his memoirs, and the count de Brienne, do justice to Concini's merit and innocence; and such testimonies serve to set the living right, though they cannot do any thing for those who have suffered in so unjust and cruel a manner.

This furious hatred was not confined only to the common people: a commission is sent to the parliament for passing sentence upon the marechal after his death, and for trying his wife Eleanor Galigai, thus to screen the infamy of his murder under the appearance of legal cruelty. Five counsellors of the parliament refused to assist at the trial; but there were only five prudent and just men.

Never was there a proceeding so void of justice and so disgraceful to reason. They could not find any crime against the marechal's wife, but that of having been the queen's favourite:

she

she was accused of forcery, and certain *agnus dei's* which she carried about her were taken for talismans. The counsellor Courtin demanded of her what charms she had made use of to bewitch the queen? Galigai incensed against the counsellor, and a little displeased with Mary of Medicis, replied, "My only charm was the power which all great minds have over weak ones." This answer did not save her: some of the judges had discernment and justice enough not to think her worthy of death; but the rest, carried away by the general prejudice, by ignorance, and still more by the persuasions of those who wanted to have a share in the spoils of this unhappy pair, passed sentence on the husband who was already dead, and his wife who survived him, as guilty of 1617 forcery, Judaism, and mal-practices. Galigai was burnt, and the king's favourite, Luines, had the confiscated estates.

This unfortunate Galigai was the first promoter of cardinal Richelieu's fortune; while he was yet very young, and called the abbot of Chillon, she procured him the bishopric of Luçon, and at length got him made secretary of state in 1616. He was involved in the disgrace of his protectors, and he who afterwards pronounced sentence of banishment against so many from that throne on which he was seated next his master, was now banished himself to a little priory, at the farther end of Anjou.

Concini, without ever having served, had been a marechal of France; Luines was four years afterwards constable of the same kingdom, without having been an officer. Such a ministry met with little respect; nothing was

seen but factions among the nobles and the people, and every one undertook the most daring enterprizes.

1619 The duke of Epemon, who had caused the queen to be declared regent, went to the castle of Blois, whither she had been banished, and carried her to his estate in Angoulême, like a sovereign who rescues his ally.

This was manifestly an act of high treason; but a crime that was approved by the whole kingdom, and which added to the duke of Epemon's glory. The nation had hated Mary of Medicis while she was in full power, and they loved her now that she was unfortunate. No one murmured when the king imprisoned his mother in the Louvre, nor when he banished her without any reason; and now they considered as a wicked attempt the endeavours he used to take his mother out of the hands of a rebel. They were so apprehensive of the violence of Luines's counsels, and the cruelty and weakness of the king, that his own confessor, the Jesuit Arnoux, as he was preaching in his presence, before the accommodation, made use of these remarkable words: "It can never be believed, that a religious prince would draw his sword to shed the blood of which he was formed: you would not suffer me, sire, to advance a falsehood from the seat of truth. I conjure you, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, not to hearken to violent counsels, nor to give this subject of scandal to all Christendom."

It was a fresh proof of the weakness of the administration, that any one durst speak thus from the pulpit. Father Arnoux could not have expressed himself otherwise had the king

condemned his mother to death. Lewis XIII. had then hardly begun to raise an army against the duke of Epemon ; it was therefore publicly revealing the secrets of the state, and speaking in the name of God against the duke of Luines. Either the confessor had an heroic and indiscreet freedom, or he had been gained over by Mary of Medicis. Whatever was his motive, this public discourse shews that there was a degree of boldness even in those minds, which seemed formed only for submission. A few years afterwards, the constable had the confessor discharged.

However, the king was so far from running into those violences of which people had been apprehensive, that he sought an opportunity of reconciliation with his mother, and entered into a treaty with the duke of Epemon, as between prince and prince. He did not even venture to say in his declaration that the duke of Epemon had given him cause of offence. 1619

But the treaty of reconciliation was hardly signed when it was broken again ; this was the true spirit of the times. New parties took up arms in favour of the queen, and always to oppose the duke of Luines, as before it had been to oppose the marechal d'Ancre, but never against the king. Every favourite at that time drew after him a civil war. Lewis and his mother in fact made war upon each other. Mary was in Anjou at the head of a small army against her son ; they engaged each other on the bridge of Cé, and the kingdom was on the point of ruin.

This confusion made the fortune of the famous Richelieu. He was comptroller of the

queen-mother's household, and had supplanted all that prince's confidants, as he afterwards did all the king's ministers. His pliable temper and bold disposition must necessarily have acquired him the first rank every where, or have proved his ruin. He brought about the accommodation between the mother and son; and a nomination to the purple, which the queen asked of the king for him, was the reward of his services. The duke of Epemon was the first to lay down arms without making any demands, whilst the rest made the king pay them for having taken up arms against him.

The queen-mother and the king her son had an interview at Brisac, where they embraced with a flood of tears, only to quarrel again more violently than ever. The weakness, intrigues, and divisions of the court, spread anarchy through the kingdom. All the internal defects with which the state had for a long time been attacked, were now increased, and those which Henry IV. had removed were revived anew.

The church suffered greatly, and was still in more disorder than the state.

It was not consistent with the interest of Henry IV. to attempt a reformation; the weak piety of Lewis XIII. suffered the disorder to continue. Regularity and decency were first introduced by Lewis XIV. Almost all the church-livings were in possession of the laity, who hired poor priests to officiate for them. The rich abbeys were all in the hands of the princes of the blood. Some of the churchlands were looked upon as family-estates; an abbey was stipulated for a dowry with a wife,
and

and a colonel recruited his regiment with the revenues of a priory. The court-clergy frequently wore the sword, and amongst the many private and public duels which desolated France, there were several fought by churchmen, from the cardinal of Guise, who drew his sword against Gonzaga duke of Nevers, in 1617, to the abbot, afterwards the cardinal de Retz, who had several engagements of this kind while he was soliciting for the archbishopric of Paris. The minds of men were in general gross and uncultivated. The genius of a Malherbe * and a Ra-

* Malherbe is considered as the father of French poetry. His works consist of paraphrases of psalms, odes, stanzas, sonnets, and epigrams; and it must be owned, he bears a considerable rank among the lyric poets. He was patronized by Henry IV. and afterwards obtained a pension of five hundred crowns a-year from queen Mary de Medicis. He was remarkably blunt in his conversation and address, of a very litigious disposition, and recited his own verses with a very bad grace, hawking and spitting five or six times in repeating every stanza. The cavalier Marini said he never saw such a moist man, and such a dry poet. But he could not bear to be censured for his bad pronunciation: one day that Racan told him he swallowed one half of his words, "Z---ds! (said he) if you plague me at this rate, I'll eat up all my verses; --- they are my own, for I made them, and I may make of them whatever I please." In point of religion, he was a free-thinker. M. de Racan visiting him one Saturday, which happened to be next day to Candlemas, found him eating bacon at eight in the morning, and said to him by way of reprehension, "Oh! monsieur, the virgin is purified, --- she is risen." "Not at all, (replied Malherbe) your ladies don't rise so early in the morning." When he lay on his death-bed, his confessor talking to him of the joys of heaven, in a stile that was by no means elegant, Malherbe begged he would say no more of the matter, for his stile was so bad that it gave him a disgust to the subject. His son, a promising young man,

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being

a Racan* was only a new light, which did not spread itself over the nation. A savage pedantry, companion to that ignorance which passed for science, soured the manners of all the public bodies appointed for the education of youth, and even those of the magistracy. It is hardly credible that the parliament of Paris in 1621, forbid every one, under pain of death, to teach any thing contrary to the doctrine of Aristotle and the ancient authors; and that one de Clave and his companions were banished from that city, for having attempted to maintain theses against the Aristotelian principles, concerning the number of the elements, and matter and form.

Notwithstanding this severity and strictness of manners, the distribution of justice was venal in almost all the courts of the provinces. Henry IV. acknowledged as much to the parliament of Paris, which had always distinguished itself by its incorruptible integrity, and its constant opposition to the wills of ministers and pecuniary edicts. "I know, said that prince, that it is not your custom to sell justice, but in

being killed in a duel; he was so afflicted and exasperated, that, though in the seventy-third year of his age, he challenged the gentleman who had slain him, and was with great difficulty prevailed upon by his friends to accommodate the affair, and receive as an atonement ten thousand crowns, which he proposed to expend in erecting a monument for his son; but his own death prevented the execution of this design.

* Honoratus de Bueil, marquis de Racan, was the friend and admirer of Malherbe, and, like him, acquired great reputation in lyric poetry. Boileau preferred him in point of genius to his friend, though he blames him for his negligence, and a desire of imitating Malherbe.

other

other parliaments there is frequently a necessity to support one's cause by dint of money; I remember it, and have myself often been obliged to pay for it."

The husbandmen were oppressed by the noblesse, who fortified themselves within their castles, mounted on horseback to follow the governor of a province, or attached themselves to the service of those princes who raised commotions in the state. The towns were destitute of police, and the roads impassable, or infected with robbers. The registers of the parliament prove, that the Paris watch, appointed for the safety of the city, consisted at that time of forty-five men, who never did service. These disorders, which Henry IV. had not been able to remove, were not however in the number of those diseases of the body politic which could destroy it; its truly dangerous maladies were, the disorder of the finances, the dissipation of the money raised by Henry IV. the necessity of laying taxes on the people during a peace, which Henry had exempted them from even when making preparations for a war of the greatest consequence; the tyrannical methods used in levying these taxes, which only served to enrich the farmers of the revenue; the immense fortunes raised by these farmers, whom the duke of Sully had removed, and who, under the subsequent administration, fattened upon the blood of the people.

To these diseases, which impaired the vigour of the body politic, were added others, which gave it frequent and violent shocks. The governors of provinces, who were only lieutenants under Henry IV. wanted to be independent

dent of Lewis XIII. Their privileges, or rather usurpations, were boundless: they disposed of all places; the poorer sort of gentry devoted their services chiefly to them, very little to the king, and still less to the state. Every governor of a province drew sums from his department, for maintaining a body of troops, in the place of those guards which Henry IV. had taken from them. The government of Guienne was worth a million of livres to the duke of Epemon.

We have just seen this subject taking the queen-mother under his protection, making war upon the king, and accepting peace with a haughty pride. The marechal de Lesdiguières had, three years before, *viz.* in 1616, signalized his own greatness and the weakness of the crown in a still more glorious manner; he raised a real army at his own expence, or rather at that of Dauphiny, the province of which he was not governor, but only lieutenant-general, led his army into the Alps, notwithstanding the positive and repeated prohibition of the court, assisted the duke of Savoy against the Spaniards, though the court had abandoned his cause, and returned home triumphant. France was then as full of powerful nobles as in the reign of Henry III. this only added to the weakness of the kingdom.

It is not in the least surprising, that France should at that time have let slip the most favourable occasion which had presented itself since the time of Charles V. to limit the power of the house of Austria, by assisting the elector Palatine, who was chosen king of Bohemia, and by keeping the balance of Germany agree-

able to Henry IV's plan, which was afterwards followed by the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine. The court had taken too great umbrage at the Huguenots in France, to assist or protect the protestants in Germany. It feared that the reformed would do that in France which their brethren were doing in the empire; but had the government been as powerful and well established as in the reign of Henry IV. in the last year of Richelieu's ministry, under Lewis XIV. it would have assisted the protestants of Germany, and at the same time have kept those of France in proper subjection. Luines did not conceive these great designs during his administration, and had he conceived them, he was not in a condition to fulfil them. It required a well respected authority, regularity in the finances, and large armies; all which were wanting.

The divisions of the court, under a king who always wanted to be master, and was always setting a master over himself, spread the spirit of sedition through all the cities of the kingdom. It was impossible but that this flame, sooner or later, must communicate itself to the reformed in France. This was what the court apprehended, and its weakness produced this apprehension; it was sensible that it would be disobeyed whenever it attempted to command, and it would always command.

Lewis XIII. at that time annexed Bearn to the crown by a solemn edict; 1620 this edict restored to the catholics those churches which the Huguenots had taken possession of before the reign of Henry IV. and which that monarch had continued to them. The party assemblies at Rochelle, in defiance of the king's

prohibition. The love of liberty, so natural to mankind, inspired the reformed at that time with the flattering idea of forming themselves into a republic, in which they were not a little encouraged by the example of their protestant brethren in Germany. As their imaginations were warmed, they divided the provinces in which they were dispersed into eight circles, each circle had a general as those in Germany. The generals were the marechal de Bouillon, the duke of Soubise, the duke de la Trimouille, Chatillon grandson to admiral Coligni, and the marechal of Lesdiguières. The generalissimo to be chosen by them in time of war was to have a seal, with these words engraven on it, *pour Christ & pour le roi*, (for Christ and the king) that is against the king. Rochelle was destined to be the capital of this republic, which would be able to form a state within the kingdom.

The reformed from this instant made preparations for war. They appear to have been already pretty powerful, since they offered the post of general to the marechal of Lesdiguières, with a salary of one hundred thousand crowns per month. Lesdiguières however, who wanted to be constable of France, chose rather to fight against them than to command them, and soon after quitted their religion; but he presently found himself disappointed in his expectations from the court. The duke of Luines, who had never drawn a sword before, now made use of that of constable; and Lesdiguières having advanced too far to retreat, was
1621 obliged to serve under Luines, against those of whom he had hitherto been the chief protector.

The court was under the necessity of treating with all the heads of the party, in order to keep them within bounds, and with all the governors of the provinces, to raise troops. Lewis then marches towards the Loire, and from thence into Poitou, Bearn, and the southern provinces; the prince of Condé was at the head of a body of Huguenot troops, and the constable de Luines commanded the king's army.

On this occasion an ancient form was revived, which is now entirely laid aside. When they came near a town commanded by a suspected person, a herald at arms presented himself before the gates, the commanding officer listened to him uncovered, and the herald cried out, "Isaac or Jacob such an one, the king, thy sovereign lord and mine, commands thee to open the gates, and to receive him and his army as in duty bound; on failure of which, I declare thee guilty of high treason in all its degrees, thou and thy posterity: thy goods shall be confiscated, thy houses razed to the ground, and those of all who are assisting or abetting to thee."

Almost all the towns opened their gates to the king, excepting that of St. John d'Angeli, whose ramparts he demolished, and the little town of Clérac, which surrendered at discretion. The court, puffed up with this success, caused the consul of Clérac and 1621
four ministers to be hanged.

This execution, instead of dismaying the Huguenots, only served to irritate them the more. Pressed on all sides, and deserted by the marechal Lefdiguieres, and the marechal de Bouillon, they made choice of the famous duke Ben-

Benjamin of Rohan for their general, whom they looked upon as the greatest captain of his age; they compared him to the princes of Orange, and thought him equally capable of founding a republic, even more zealous in the cause of religion, at least in appearance, vigilant, indefatigable, never suffering his pleasures to divert him from business, and formed to be the head of a party; a post which is at best but slippery, and where foes and friends are equally to be feared. The title, the rank, and the qualities of the chief of a party, had for a long time been the principal object and study of the ambitious throughout Europe. The Guelphs and Gibellines had begun it in Italy; the Guises and the Condés had afterwards established a kind of school for these politics in France, which continued till the minority of Lewis XIV.

Lewis XIII. was reduced to besiege his own towns. They thought to succeed before Montauban, as they had done before Clérac; but the constable de Luines lost almost the
1621 whole royal army, under his master's eye.

Montauban was one of those towns, which at present would not hold out a siege of four days; and it was so badly invested, that the duke of Rohan threw succours twice into the town, through the besiegers lines. The marquis de la Force, who commanded in the place, defended himself better than he was attacked. This was that James Nonpar de la Force, who was so miraculously saved when a child, from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and whom Lewis XIII. afterwards made marshal of

of France. The citizens of Montauban, whom the punishment of those of Clérac had inspired with a desperate courage, resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of their town, rather than capitulate.

The constable, finding he could not succeed by temporal arms, employed spiritual ones. He sent for a Spanish Carmelite, who was said by his miracles to have assisted the catholic army of the empire to win the battle of Prague against the protestants. This friar, whose name was Dominic, came to the king's camp, blessed the army, distributed his agnuscs amongst them, and said to the king, "You shall cause four hundred cannon to be fired against the town, and at the four hundredth Montauban will capitulate." It is probable that four hundred cannon-shot, well directed, might have produced this effect: Lewis ordered them to be fired, Montauban did not surrender, and he was obliged to raise the siege.

This disgrace made the king less respected among the catholics, and less dreaded by the Huguenots. The constable was hated by every one: he led the king to revenge the disgrace he had received before Montauban, on a little town of Guienne called Monheur, where a fever put an end to his life. Every December, kind of rapine was at that time so common, that, as he was dying, 1621
he saw his furniture, equipage, and money, carried away before his face by his own servants and the soldiers, who hardly left a sheet to cover the corps of that man, who had once been the most powerful in the kingdom; who in one hand held the sword of constable, and in the

the other the seals of France. He died equally hated by the people and his sovereign.

Lewis XIII. was unhappily engaged in a war against one part of his subjects. This war was the work of the duke of Luines, who wanted to keep his master embarrassed, and to be comfortable. Lewis XIII. had been accustomed to consider this war as indispensably necessary. The remonstrances which du Plessis-Mornay, when near eighty years of age, made to him on this subject, deserve to be transmitted to posterity. After making use of the most specious reasons he could devise, he writes thus to him: "A king who makes war upon his subjects, demonstrates his own weakness. Authority consists in the peaceable obedience of the people, and that is established by the prudence and justice of him who governs. The force of arms is to be employed only against a foreign enemy. The late king would have sent those new ministers of state back to school to learn the elements of politics, who like ignorant surgeons, could propose no other remedies but caustics and amputations; or had presumed to advise him to cut off the diseased limb with that which was sound."

This sound reasoning, however, had no effect upon the court. The diseased limb caused too many convulsions in the body, and Lewis XIII. who wanted his father's strength of understanding, by which he kept the protestants within bounds, thought there was no other way to reduce them but by force of arms. He therefore marches into the provinces beyond the Loire, at the head of a small army of about thirteen or fourteen thousand men. He had
besides

besides a few bodies of troops dispersed in these provinces. The bad state of the finances would not allow of larger armies at that time, and the Huguenots had not a stronger force to oppose him with.

Soubise, brother to the duke of Rohan, entrenched himself with eight thousand men in the island of Rhé, which is separated from Poitou by a small arm of the sea, which the king passed at the head of his army at ebb tide, entirely defeated the enemy, and obliged Soubise to fly over to England. It was 1622 impossible to shew greater intrepidity, or to gain a more compleat victory. Lewis's only weakness was that of suffering himself to be governed, and this one weakness made him miserable all his life, in his household, his government, his private affairs, and even in his least occupations. As to this victory it only served to furnish the Huguenot chiefs with fresh resources.

They negotiated even more than they fought, as was the case in the time of the league, and in almost all civil wars. More than one rebel lord who had been condemned to lose his life by the parliament, obtained rewards and dignities, while he was executed in effigy. This was what happened to the marquis de la Force, who had driven the royal army from Montauban, and who still kept the field against the king. He had a pension of twenty thousand crowns, and a marechal of France's staff. The greatest services could not have been better paid than he was for his submission. Chatillon, Coligni's grandson, sold the town of Aiguemortes to the king, and was likewise made a marechal.

Several sold their obedience in this manner; but Lesdiguières was the only one who sold his religion: he had fortified himself at that time in Dauphiny, where he still professed the reformed religion, and suffered himself to be openly solicited by the Huguenot party, to join them again; thus keeping the king in continual apprehension that he should go over to the faction.

It was proposed in the council either to murder him or make him constable: the king chose the latter, and then Lesdiguières became in an instant a catholic, which was necessary, in order to be constable, though not to be marechal of France. Such was the custom, otherwise the constable's sword might as well have been in the hands of a Huguenot, as the superintendency of the finances had for a long time been; but the generals of the army, and the chiefs of the council could not profess the reformed religion while they were fighting against it. This change of religion in Lesdiguières would have been infamous in a private man, who had only a small interest to answer; but the greater objects of ambition are strangers to shame.

Lewis XIII. then was obliged to be perpetually buying servants and treating with rebels. He laid siege to Montpellier; and fearing to meet with the same disgrace as he had done before Montauban, he consented to be received into the town, only on condition of confirming the edict of Nantes, and all the privileges granted to the protestants. It is probable that if he had left all the other protestant towns in the possession of their privileges, and had followed the advice of du Pleffis-Mornay, he might

might have saved himself this war; and it is evident that notwithstanding his victory at Rhé, he gained very little by carrying it on.

The duke of Rohan finding that every one was making terms, made his likewise. It was he who prevailed on the inhabitants of Montpelier to receive the king into their town. He set on foot, and concluded the general peace with the constable Lesdiguières, at Privas. The king payed him, as he had done the rest, and gave him the dutchy of Valois 1622 as a pledge.

Every thing remained on the same footing as before the taking up of arms; so that the king and the kingdom were at a great expence to gain nothing. In the course of this war there were some few unhappy citizens hanged, and the heads of the rebellion were rewarded.

Lewis's council was as much distracted during this civil war as the state itself. The prince of Condé, who accompanied the king every where, wanted to have the government of both army and state. The ministers were divided amongst themselves, and they had pressed the king to give the constable's sword to Lesdiguières, only in order to lessen the prince of Condé's authority. This prince, wearied with the continual oppositions he had to encounter in the cabinet, went to Rome as soon as the peace was concluded, to obtain of the pope that the post which he possessed might be made hereditary to his house. He might have transmitted them to his children without the brief which he had applied for, and which he could not obtain. It was with difficulty that he could even get the title of Highness given him

him at Rome, and all the cardinal priests took the upper hand of him without ceremony. This was all the fruit of his journey to Rome.

The court, delivered from the burthen of a ruinous and unprofitable civil war, became a prey to fresh intrigues. The ministers were all declared enemies to one another, and the king equally distrusted them all.

It appeared plainly after the death of Luines, that it had been him rather than the king who had persecuted the queen-mother: for no sooner was that favourite deceased, than she was placed at the head of the council. This princess, in order to confirm her reassumed authority, resolved to introduce her favourite the cardinal Richelieu into the council, who was the comptroller of her household, and for whom she had procured the purple, and never ceased pressing the king to admit him into the ministry. Almost all the memoirs of those times take notice of the king's extreme repugnance to grant this request. He treated as an impossibility the person in whom he afterwards placed all his confidence, and even reflected upon his moral character.

This prince, who was a scrupulous devotee, and naturally distrustful, had somewhat more than an aversion to the cardinal on account of his gallantries, which were indeed too barefaced, and even ridiculous. He would dress at times like a cavalier, and after writing tracts of divinity, go a courting in a hat and feather. De Retz tells us likewise in his memoirs, that he added pedantry to these fopperies: but you have no occasion for de Retz's testimony, since you have seen the love theses maintained by

Richelieu.

Richelieu's orders in his niece's apartments after the form of the theses of divinity, maintained in the college of the Sorbonne. The memoirs of those times likewise inform us moreover, that he raised his insolent desires, real or feigned, even to the person of the queen consort, Anne of Austria, from whom he received such biting raillery as he never afterwards forgave. I lay these anecdotes before you, because they had an influence on great events. In the first place they shew us that in this famous cardinal, the follies of the man of gallantry took nothing from the greatness of the statesman, and that the littlenesses of private life may be compatible with the heroism of a public station. In the second place, they serve as a kind of demonstration that the political will which has been published in his name, could never have been of his framing. It was not possible that cardinal de Richelieu, who was so well known to Lewis XIII. for his amorous intrigues, and as the public gallant of Marion Delorme, could have had the front to recommend chastity to so chaste a prince as Lewis, who was at that time forty years old, and overwhelmed with diseases.

So great was the king's repugnance to admit him into the ministry that the queen-mother was obliged to gain over the comptroller la Vieuville, who was then the minister of most credit, and who feared Richelieu even more than Lewis did. At length he was admitted into the cabinet against the inclination of the king and that of the ministers; but he had not the first place in rank there, which was occupied by the cardinal de la Rochefoucault, nor yet in credit, which la Vieuville continued to hold for some time afterwards; he had no de-
part-

partment, no superiority over the other ministers. "He desired only, says the queen-mother in one of her letters to the king her son, to come sometimes to council." In this manner did he pass some months upon his first introduction into the ministry.

I must again remark that I am sensible that these minute particulars are in themselves beneath your notice, and ought to be lost in greater events; but here they are necessary to overturn a false notion which has so long prevailed with the public, that cardinal Richelieu was prime minister, and absolute master of the council. It is this erroneous opinion which has made the pretended author of the political will say, "When your majesty determined to honour me at the same time with a seat in your council and a great share of your confidence, I then promised to use all my endeavours to humble the pride of the great, to extirpate the Huguenots, and to raise your reputation in all foreign nations."

It is manifest that cardinal Richelieu could never have expressed himself in this manner, since he had not the king's confidence at first, not to mention how imprudent it would have been in a minister to have begun his harangue by telling his master, "I will raise your reputation," which was giving him to understand, that his reputation was low. I shall pass over the multitude of reasons which prove beyond contradiction that the political will attributed to cardinal Richelieu neither is nor could have been his, and shall now return to his administration.

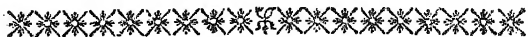
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What was afterwards said in relation to the mausoleum erected to his memory in the Sorbonne, *magnum disputandi argumentum*, is the true character of his genius and actions. It is very difficult to know a man of whom his flatterers have said so much good, and his enemies so much ill. He had at once to defend himself against the house of Austria, the protestants, the grandees of the kingdom, the queen mother his benefactress, the king's brother, the queen consort, to whom he had the insolence to pay his addresses; and lastly, the king himself, to whom he was always necessary and always hateful. It was natural for his enemies to endeavour to defame him by libels; to these he opposed panegyrics, neither of which are deserving of our belief. We are to represent to ourselves facts.

To make ourselves as certain of these as possible, it is necessary to chuse proper writers. For example, what is to be thought of the author of the life of father Joseph, who quotes a letter of the cardinal's to this famous Capuchin, written, as he says, immediately upon his entrance into the council? "As you are the principal agent whom God has employed to bring me to those honours to which I now see myself raised, I look upon myself as bound to acquaint you that the king has been pleased to confer on me the office of prime minister, at the queen's intreaty."

The cardinal did not receive his patent for prime minister till the year 1629; and friar Joseph neither brought him to those honours, nor did he conduct him through them.

Books are but too full of such forgeries, and it is no small labour to separate truth from falsehood. Let us then take a summary view of the stormy ministry, or rather reign of cardinal de Richelieu.



C H A P. CXLVI.

Of the ADMINISTRATION of Cardinal de RICHELIEU.

THE comptroller la Vieuville, who had lent a hand to raise the cardinal de Richelieu to the ministry, was the first crushed by him about six months after his elevation. He was privately accused of misdemeanours, to which every comptroller is liable.

La Vieuville owed his greatness to chancellor Silleri, and had been the cause of his disgrace. He was now ruined in his turn by the person who owed his advancement to him. These vicissitudes, which are so common in all courts, were more so in that of Lewis XIII. than in any other. La Vieuville is confined in the castle of Amboise: he had set on foot a treaty of marriage between the princess Henrietta, sister to Lewis XIII. and Charles prince of Wales, who was soon afterwards king of Great Britain. The cardinal put the finishing hand to this treaty, notwithstanding the opposition of the courts of Rome and Madrid.

He favoured underhand the protestants in Germany; but this did not in the least abate his intention of ruining those in France.

Before

Before he came into the ministry, they had vainly treated with all the Italian princes, to hinder the house of Austria, which was at that time so powerful, from remaining in possession of the Valteline*.

This little province, which was then of the catholic communion, belonged to the Grison leaguers, who were protestants. The Spaniards wanted to join these vallies to the dutchy of Milan. The duke of Savoy and the Venetians, in concert with France, strenuously opposed all addition of power to the house of Austria in Italy. At length pope Urban VIII. got the sequestration of this province to be placed in his hands, and was not without hopes of keeping it altogether.

Monsieur de Marquemont wrote a long letter to Cardinal Richelieu, in which he set forth all the difficulties attending this affair. This latter answered him by the following famous epistle: "The king has changed his council, and the ministry its maxims: an army will be sent to the Valteline, which will make his holiness less wavering, and the Spaniard more tractable." Accordingly, the marquis of Cœuvres was immediately sent to the Valteline, at the head of an army. No respect was shewn to the pope's colours, and the country was freed from the Austrian invasion. This was the first event which rendered France of some consideration abroad.

* The south-east subdivision of the Grisons, a fine valley and populous country in Switzerland, through which runs the river Adda.

Under the former administration there had been a continual complaint of want of money; but now enough was found to assist the Hollanders with a loan of three millions two hundred thousand livres to put them in a condition to carry on the war against the Spanish branch of Austria, their ancient sovereign. A sum was likewise sent to the famous count Mansfeldt *, who

* This was Ernest, natural son of Peter Ernestus III. count of Mansfeldt: he was bred a Roman Catholic at the court of Brussels, under his godfather the archduke Ernest of Austria, and afterwards served with reputation the king of Spain in the Low Countries, as well as the emperor in Hungary. About the year 1610, he quitted the Austrian service in disgust, embraced Calvinism, and engaged in the service of the protestant princes. He was undoubtedly the most celebrated partizan of the age in which he lived: for though he was generally defeated in pitched battles, he always found resources, by means of which he rendered himself a very formidable enemy. He was famous for surprising towns, routing detachments, traversing provinces, and extricating himself out of the most dangerous difficulties. Never was there a captain more indefatigable and undaunted, more patient of hunger, cold, and fatigue, more dextrous at raising armies, or more fruitful in all the expedients of war. His friends called him the Ulysses of Germany, his enemies stiled him the Attila of Christendom. He introduced the custom of letting troops for hire; and kept them up at such a price, that the Dutch used to say of him, *bonus in auxilio, carus in pretio*. Being defeated at Dessau by Wallstein the imperial general, he retired with his cavalry into the marche of Brandenburg, and in a little time assembled another army of five and twenty thousand men, with which he advanced into Hungary, with a view to join Bethlem Gabor; but this prince having made his peace with the emperor, left Mansfeldt's troops to perish of cold and famine, among the mountains. The count being extremely chagrined, and finding his health impaired, gave up the remainder of his army to the duke of Saxe-Weymar,

who almost singly supported the cause of the palatine family and of the protestants, against the imperial house.

It was natural to expect, that after assisting the protestants without doors, the Spanish ministry would stir up those in France, and repay them (as Mirable the Spanish ambassador said,) the money that had been lent to the Hollanders. Accordingly the Huguenots, protected and paid by Spain, renewed the civil war in France. It had been the standing maxim of politics among the catholic princes ever since the time of Charles V. and Francis I. to assist the protestants in each other's kingdoms, and to persecute them at home. During this new war against the duke of Rohan and his party, the cardinal still went on negotiating with those powers he had insulted; and neither the emperor Ferdinand II. nor the Spanish king Philip IV. attempted any thing against France.

Rochelle began now to become powerful. It had at that time almost as good a fleet as the king. It wanted to follow the example of the Dutch, and might have succeeded, had it found among the nations of its own faith an ally able or willing to furnish it with proper assistance: but cardinal Richelieu took care in the first place to set the Dutch against it, who from the interest of religion ought to have assisted it; and likewise the English, who, from interests of

Weymar, and set out on his journey to Venice; but was overtaken by death at a village in Dalmatia. Perceiving his end near, he caused himself to be armed at all points, and being held up by his attendants, died standing, in the year 1626.

state, were under a stronger obligation to defend it. The money which had already been given to the United Provinces, and what was farther promised, prevailed on them to equip a fleet against those whom they called their brethren: thus the catholic king assisted the French protestants with money, and the Dutch protestants fought for the Roman Catholic religion; while cardinal de Richelieu was driving the pope's troops from the Valteline in favour of the Grison Huguenots.

It is matter of surprize, that Soubise at the head of the Rochelle fleet should venture to attack the Dutch fleet off the isle of Rhé, and gain an advantage over them who passed for the best seamen in the world. This success would at any other time have made Rochelle an established and powerful republic.

Lewis XIII. at that time had a good admiral, but no fleet. The cardinal on his coming to the ministry found every thing to new-model or to repair. It was impossible for him in the short space of a year to have established a navy. It was with difficulty that he could even equip ten or twelve small men of war. The duke of Montmorenci, the same who had afterwards so tragical an end, was at that time admiral: he was obliged to go on board the Dutch admiral's ship; and it was with the Dutch and English ships that he beat the Rocheller's fleet.

This victory shewed how necessary it was for France to make itself powerful both by sea and land, while it had the Huguenot party to suppress at home, and the Austrian power to undermine in Europe. The ministry then granted a peace

a peace to the Huguenots, in order to have time to strengthen itself.

Cardinal Richelieu had still more powerful enemies to encounter at court. Not one of the princes of the blood liked him. Gaston of Orleans, the king's brother, hated him mortally. Mary of Medicis began to look upon the creature of her raising with jealousy. All the grandes caballed against him.

He took the place of admiral from the 1626 duke of Montmorenci, to bestow it on himself under another name, and by this he made another irreconcilable enemy. Two sons of Henry IV. Cæsar of Vendôme, and the grand prior, attempted to oppose him; he had them confined in the castle of Vincennes. The marechal Ornano and Talleron Chalais, stirred up Gaston the king's brother against him. He caused them to be accused of a design against the king himself. In this accusation he included the duke of Soissons, Gaston the king's brother, and the queen consort.

One time the conspirators were accused of a plot to take away the king's life, at another, that they had formed a design of declaring him impotent, of shutting him up in a cloister, and of giving his crown and wife to his brother Gaston. These two accusations manifestly contradicted each other, and neither the one nor the other were probable. Their real crime was that of having joined to oppose the minister, and of having talked of taking away his life. The commissioners passed sentence of death upon Chalais, and he was executed at Nantz. The marechal d'Ornano died in his confinement at Vincennes: the count of Sois-

sons fled to Italy : the dutchess of Chevreuse, to whom the cardinal had formerly paid his addresses, but whom he now accused of having joined in the cabal against him, escaped with difficulty from the guards, who were sent to arrest her, and fled over to England. Anne of Austria was summoned before the council, forbidden to speak to any man, but in the presence of the king her husband, and compelled to sign an acknowledgment of her guilt.

Distrust, fear, and desolation had now taken possession of the royal family and the whole court. Lewis was now the most unhappy man in his kingdom ; he was in continual apprehensions of his wife and brother, uneasy in his mother's presence, whom he had formerly used so ill, and who every now and then let fall hints of her not having forgotten it ; and still more perplexed with the cardinal, whose yoke he already began to feel. The critical situation of affairs without doors was a fresh subject of uneasiness to him, and he found himself unavoidably linked to the cardinal by his fears and perplexities, by the necessity he was under of suppressing the cabals in his court, and of preserving his credit with other nations.

Three ministers, equally powerful, were at that time in a manner masters of the fate of Europe ; Olivarez in Spain, Buckingham in England, and Richelieu in France. They had all three a natural hatred to each other, and were at once negotiating against one another. Cardinal de Richelieu quarrelled with the duke of Buckingham, at the very time that the English were supplying him with a fleet against
the

the Rochellers, and joined with the count-duke Olivarez at the time that he was depriving the king of Spain of the Valteline.

Of these three ministers the duke of Buckingham passed for the least politic. He shone as a favourite and a nobleman, was liberal, open, and daring, but was not a statesman. The mastery he had gained over Charles I. was not owing to his intrigues, but to that ascendancy which he had had over the father, and which he still retained over the son. He was the handsomest man of his time, the most generous, and the most proud. He fancied that no woman could resist the charms of his person, nor man the superiority of his understanding. Intoxicated with this double self-love, he had carried Charles, while prince of Wales, into Spain, to marry the infanta, and that he himself might make a figure at that court. Here, by adding the Spanish gallantry to his own assurance, he attacked the wife of the prime minister Olivarez, and by this indiscreet action hindered the prince's marriage. Being sent afterwards to France in 1625, to conduct the princess Henrietta to England, whom he had procured for king Charles I. he was again on the point of making this design miscarry by an indiscretion of a still bolder nature: he made a declaration to queen Anne of Austria, and made no secret of his passion for that princess, though he could expect nothing from this adventure but the vain honour of having dared to explain himself. The queen, who had been brought up in notions of gallantry, which were then allowed in Spain, looked upon the duke of Buckingham's

raffness only as a homage paid to her beauty, which could not offend her virtue.

The pomp assumed by the duke of Buckingham was very displeasing to the court of France, though without making him ridiculous; for greatness and assurance are not regarded in that light. He conducted the princess Henrietta to London, and carried back with him in his heart a passion for the queen, which was increased by the vanity of having declared it. This same vanity led him to venture upon a second voyage to the court of France. The pretext was to make a treaty with the cardinal against the duke Olivarez, as the cardinal had before made a treaty with Olivarez against him. The true reason was, to be nearer the queen, which he sufficiently shewed by all his behaviour: however, he was not only refused leave to see her, but the king discharged several of his wife's servants whom he suspected of favouring the duke of Buckingham's designs. This Englishman then, at his return home, caused war to be declared against France, for no other reason than that he had been refused leave to declare his unjust passion. This adventure has the appearance of those in the times of knight-errantry. So oddly are the affairs of the world connected, that the romantic amours of the duke of Buckingham produced a religious war, and the taking of Rochelle.

The leader of party takes advantage of all circumstances. The duke of Rohan, whose designs were as deep as those of Buckingham were weak and shallow, made use of this Eng-
lish-

lishman's resentment to obtain a fleet of an hundred armed ships and transports*, and engaged the Rochellers, who with the rest of the party were then at peace, to receive a fleet of English ships not in the harbour of Rochelle, but in the isle of Rhé. Buckingham himself makes a descent upon the island with about seven thousand men. He had only a small fort to take to make himself master of the island, and separate Rochelle for ever from France. The Huguenot party would then have become unconquerable. The kingdom was divided, and all the mighty projects of cardinal Richelieu would have vanished into air, had the duke of Buckingham been only half as great, or at least as fortunate a warrior as he was a bold and enterprising man.

The marquis, afterwards marechal de Thoiras, saved the reputation of France by keeping the isle of Rhé with a small body of troops against the superior force of the

July,
1627

* The seventh article of the duke's impeachment by the house of commons imports, "That he the said duke, as admiral, did by indirect and subtle practices procure one of the principal ships of his majesty's navy-royal, called the Vanguard, and six other merchant ships, to be put into the hands of the French king." To this charge he replied, "The article was so mixed with actions of great princes, that he dared not in his duty publish every passage thereof: but he could affirm that those ships were lent to the French king at first without his privity; and when he knew it, he did that which belonged to an admiral of England; and a true Englishman." One cause assigned for the war which the king this very year declared against France was, the most christian king's employing against his protestant subjects of Rochelle, the English ships which were lent by treaty, expressly on condition that they should only assist the French on the coast of Italy.

English, and gave Lewis XIII. time to send an army before Rochelle. The command was at first given to the king's brother, Gaston; but the king himself soon joined it in person, accompanied by the cardinal. Buckingham was obliged to return to England, after having lost half his army, without being able to throw any succours into Rochelle, where his appearance had only served to hasten its ruin. The duke of Rohan, who had instigated the Rochellers to take up arms, was absent from the town, and engaged in carrying on the war in Languedoc, against the prince of Condé and the duke of Montmorenci.

All three generals were fighting for their own interest: the duke of Rohan to continue himself at the head of a party; the prince of Condé at the head of the king's army, and to recover his credit at court, and the duke of Montmorenci to keep the command of the troops which he had raised of his own authority, to make himself master in Languedoc, of which he was governor, and to raise an independent fortune, as Lesdiguières had done. Rochelle then had only itself to depend upon. The citizens, animated by religion and liberty, those two powerful motives with the populace, elected one Guiton their mayor, who was, if any thing, rather more determined than themselves. This man, before he would accept an office which gave him the chief command both in civil and military affairs, took a poinard, and holding it in his hand, "I accept, said he, the place of your mayor, only on condition of striking this poinard to the heart of the first who shall talk of fur-

surrendering; and that it be in like manner used against me, if ever I think of capitulating."

While Rochelle was thus preparing for the most obstinate resistance, cardinal Richelieu made use of every resource to reduce it, by building ships with the most surprising expedition, procuring a reinforcement of men and artillery, and even assistance from Spain, by taking a speedy advantage of the animosity between duke Olivarez and Buckingham, employing the cause of religion, and making the most specious promises, and obtaining a fleet from the king of Spain, at that time the natural enemy to France. To take from the Rochellers all hopes of assistance from England, the count-duke sent Frederick of Toledo with forty sail of ships before the port of Rochelle.

The Spanish admiral arrives: but would one believe that these succours were rendered useless by a mere matter of ceremony, and that Lewis XIII. suffered the Spanish fleet to return home because he would not permit its admiral to be covered in his presence? Whether an affair of so much importance was determined by this trivial circumstance, as too frequently happens, or that the court of Spain had taken umbrage at some new disputes relating to the Mantuan succession, its fleet just appeared and returned back again.

The duke of Buckingham was fitting out a new armament to deliver the town, and he might in a very short time have rendered all the efforts of the French king fruitless. It has always been the opinion of the court, that cardinal Richelieu warded off this blow by taking
advan-

advantage of Buckingham's passion for Anne of Austria, and that he prevailed upon the queen to write to that duke. It is said that she requested of him only to suspend the embarkation of his troops for a little time; and that Buckingham suffered his weakness to prevail over his honour and reputation.

This anecdote may possibly be false; but it has gained so much credit, that we cannot dispense with relating it: it is perfectly agreeable to the known character of Buckingham, and the spirit of court-politics at that time; and we cannot otherwise account for Buckingham's contenting himself with sending only a few vessels *, which shewed themselves before the town to no purpose, and returned again into their own ports.

It is no less astonishing to see the cardinal commanding alone at this siege, after the king's return to Paris. He had a general's commission, and this was his first essay in the military art. He now gave proofs that resolution and genius can overcome all things, being as exact in preserving discipline among the troops, as he was careful in establishing a good police in Paris, and both the one and the other were

* A fleet of fifty ships, having on board two thousand landmen, was equipped, and sailed under the command of the earl of Denbigh, who found twenty sail of French ships riding at anchor before the harbour of Rochelle, and might have destroyed them with great ease; but, instead of attacking the enemy, he weighed anchor and sailed away to Plymouth, where one Le Brun, a Frenchman, who commanded an English ship, made some depositions that implied a charge of cowardice or treachery.

equally difficult. Rochelle could not be reduced so long as its port was open to the English fleet; it was therefore necessary to shut it up by subduing the sea. In the foregoing civil war, when Lewis XIII. had a design to besiege this place, just as the peace was concluded, one Pompeo Targoni, an Italian engineer, had contrived a barricado to keep out the sea. The cardinal followed this plan, but the sea soon threw down the works; he, not in the least discouraged, began them anew. He carried a mole, near seven thousand four hundred feet in length, into the sea; this was destroyed by the winds: nevertheless he still persisted, and having his Quintus Curtius with him, with the description of the mole which Alexander the Great raised across the harbour of Tyre, he set his people to work again; and at length, by the labour and vigilance of Metefan and Tercan, two French engineers, the mole was put into a condition to resist the winds and waves.

Lewis XIII. now repaired in person to the siege, and remained there from the month of March 1628, till the place was reduced. He was frequently present at the attacks, and encouraged his officers by his example, and hastened the finishing of the great work of the mole. Yet still they were in apprehension of the arrival of another English fleet; which would destroy all they had been about. Fortune however favoured their undertakings. The duke of Buckingham, when just ready to sail with a formidable fleet to the assistance

September, assistance of Rochelle, is stabbed
1628. by an * Irish fanatic, without its be-
ing ever discovered who set him on.

Nevertheless Rochelle, though destitute of assistance and even of provisions, still maintained a courageous defence. The citizens were inspired by the example of the mother and sister of the duke of Rohan, who suffered the greatest extremity of want in common with the rest. As some unhappy wretches, ready to expire with hunger, were bewailing their calamitous situation before the mayor Guiton, he told them, "That if one man only was left alive, he ought to keep the gates fast."

The besieged found their hopes somewhat revived at the sight of the fleet which had been fitted out by Buckingham, and which now appeared under the command of admiral Lindsey. The English were not able to break through the mole, and their ships were scattered by forty large pieces of cannon, which had been mounted

* This was John Felton, who had been lieutenant of infantry, and disappointed in his expectation of a captain's commission. He certainly was a fanatic; but, in this case, his revenge seems to have co-operated with his enthusiasm. The duke was walking with sir Thomas Frier through an entry from one apartment to another, when Felton stabbed him with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound. Buckingham exclaimed "The villain hath killed me!" and pulling out the knife, dropped dead on the floor. The assassin might have escaped; but he seemed to glory in his crime, and surrendered himself immediately to justice. He had pinned on the lining of his hat an inscription, declaring his only motive to this action, was the late remonstrance of the commons against the duke: for he thought he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause than in delivering his country from such an enemy.

on a wooden fort built in the sea. Lewis was in person in this fort, and exposed himself to the fire of the enemy's fleet, which was obliged to retire, after finding all its efforts to relieve the town ineffectual.

Famine at length subdued the courage of the Rochellers; and, after a whole year's siege, which they had sustained by themselves, they were obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the mayor's poniard, which always lay Oct. 28,
upon the table in the town-hall, 1628.
ready to pierce the heart of him who

should mention a capitulation. And here it may not be improper to remark, that neither Lewis XIII. as king, cardinal Richelieu as minister, nor the marshals of France as officers of the crown, signed the articles of capitulation, but only two field-m Marshals. Rochelle was only deprived of its privileges, and no one lost his life. The Roman catholic religion was established in the town, and the country round about, and the inhabitants were left to their Calvinism, as the only thing which they had remaining.

The cardinal was determined not to leave his work unfinished; he marched into the other provinces of the kingdom, where the reformed had several strong holds, and where their numbers were still formidable. He knew that he must subdue and disarm the Huguenot party entirely, before he could be at liberty to employ his whole strength against the house of Austria in Germany, Flanders, Italy, and Spain. It was requisite that the state should be in unity and peace at home, in order to disturb the quiet of other states.

The

The interesting affair of giving a duke to Mantua, that might be dependent on France instead of Spain, after the death of the last prince, had already invited the arms of France into Italy. Gustavus Adolphus at the same time was meditating the invasion of Germany, and he was to be supported.

In this intricate situation of affairs the duke of Rohan, who still continued firm amidst the ruins of his party, makes a treaty with the king of Spain, who promises to give him assistance, after having furnished succours against him the very year before. Philip IV. after consulting his council of conscience, promises a yearly pension of thirty thousand ducats to the chief of the Huguenot party in France; but the money came slowly, and the king's troops laid all Languedoc waste. Privas was given up to plunder, and all who were found in it slain. The duke of Rohan, unable to carry on the war, still found means to make a general peace for his party on as good terms as he could; and the same man who had but lately entered into a treaty with the king of Spain, in quality of head of a party, now treats in the same character with the king of France, his master, at the very time that he stands condemned by the parliament as a rebel; and, after having received money from the Spanish court to maintain his troops, he demands and receives 1628 100,000 crowns from Lewis XIII. to complete their pay and dismiss them.

The other protestant towns in France had the like treatment with Rochelle; their fortifications were demolished, and they were deprived of all those privileges which might prove dan-

dangerous; they were allowed liberty of conscience, and the use of their churches, municipal laws, and chambers of edicts, which could not do any hurt. Every thing was appeased; and the powerful Calvinistical party, instead of establishing a state, was disarmed and depressed beyond recovery. Switzerland and Holland were not so powerful as this party when they erected themselves into independent sovereignties; Geneva, which was far less considerable, made itself free, and continued so; and yet the protestants of France fell in the attempt. The reason was, that the party itself was dispersed in its provinces; that one half of the people and the parliaments were catholics; that the royal army sent against them found their country open and defenceless; that they were attacked by troops much superior and better disciplined than their own; and lastly, that they had to deal with cardinal Richelieu.

Lewis XIII. whose character is not sufficiently known, never gained so much personal reputation as at this juncture; for, after the taking of Rochelle, while his armies were reducing the Hungarians to obedience, he supported his allies in Italy; he marched over the Alps to the assistance of the duke of March, Mantua, in the midst of a severe winter, 1629 forced three barricadoes in the pass of Suza, made himself master of that town, obliged the duke of Savoy to join him, and drove the Spaniards out of Cassel.

In the mean while the cardinal de Richelieu was treating with all the crowned heads of Europe, and against the greater part of them. He sent a capuchin friar to the diet of Ratisbon, to impose

impose upon the Germans, and to tie up the emperor's hands from meddling in the affairs of Italy. At the same time Charnacé was employed to encourage Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to invade Germany; a project to which Gustavus was already very well disposed. While Richelieu was thus trying to shake all Europe, the cabal of the king's brother and the two queens vainly attempted to ruin him at court. His great credit occasioned as much disturbance in the cabinet, as his intrigues excited disorders in other kingdoms. We must not suppose that these commotions at court were the effects of a deep policy or well concerted designs, which united a party skilfully formed for overthrowing him, and raising a person in his room worthy of succeeding him. These fatal divisions were for the most part produced by a humour which frequently governs men, even in the greatest affairs. The queen-mother, though she still kept her place in the council, and had been regent of the provinces on this side the Loire; during her son's expedition to Rochelle, was exasperated against the cardinal, who affected to appear no longer dependent on her. The memorial drawn up in defence of this prince takes notice, that the cardinal coming one day to pay his court to her, and her majesty enquiring after his health, he replied, with his eyes flaming with anger, and his lips trembling, "I am better than some here would wish me to be." The queen expressed her indignation at his insolence: the cardinal flew in a passion; he afterwards asked pardon, and the queen grew pacified; and two days afterwards they quarrelled again,
that

that policy which sometimes subdues the passions in the cabinet, not being always master of them in conversation.

Mary of Medicis at that time took from the cardinal the place of comptroller of her household. The first fruit of this quarrel was the patent for prime minister, which the king made out with his own hand for the cardinal, and addressed to him, extolling his valour and magnanimity, and leaving a blank space for the salary of the office, to be filled up by the cardinal himself. He was already high admiral of France, under the title of comptroller of navigation; and, after depriving the Huguenots of their strong holds, he secured to himself Saumur, Angers, Honfleur, Havre-de-grace, and the isles of Oleron and Rhé, which became so many cautionary places in his hands against his enemies. He was attended by guards, and his pomp eclipsed that of the crown: he was accompanied with all the exteriors of royalty, and all authority was vested in him.

The situation of affairs in Europe made him more necessary than ever to his master and the state; the emperor Ferdinand II. since the battle of Prague, had made himself despotic in Germany, and was become very powerful in Italy. His troops were at that time besieging Mantua; Savoy was wavering between France and the house of Austria; the marquis of Spinola was in the dutchy of Milan with a Spanish army. The cardinal resolved to oppose Spinola himself; he procures a patent creating him generalissimo of the army destined for Italy, and the king in this patent orders the same obedience

dience to be paid to him as to his own person. Thus this prime minister exercising the office of constable, and having under him two marshals of France, marches into Savoy.

1630 He enters into a treaty on his march; but in the character of a crowned head, and insists upon the duke's coming to Lyons to meet him: this however was refused. The French army makes itself master of Chamberry and Pignerol in two days. At length 1630 the king himself sets out for Savoy, taking with him the two queens, his brother, and a whole court, declared enemies to the cardinal, who only arrive to be witnesses to his triumphs. The cardinal comes back to Grenoble to meet the king, and they march together into Savoy.

July, Lewis XIII. is seized with an epidemical disorder, and returns to Lyons. At 1630 this juncture the duke of Montmorenci, with a handful of men, gains a signal victory over the conjoined army of Imperialists, Spaniards, and Savoyards, at Vegliana, and wounds and takes prisoner with his own hand their general Doria. This action crowned him with glory, and the king wrote to him in these terms: "I think myself as much obliged to you, as a king can be to a subject." This obligation however did not prevent this great man from being brought to the scaffold two years afterwards.

There was nothing less than such a victory required to support the interest and reputation of France, at a time that the Imperialists had taken and sacked Mantua, were pursuing the duke which Lewis XIII. protected, and had beaten the Venetians, his allies. The cardinal,

nal, whose greatest enemies were those he had at court, left the duke of Montmorenci to fight against the enemies of the kingdom, and applied himself to observe the motions of those he himself had about the king. This monarch was then dangerously ill at Lyons, insomuch that his life was despaired of. The confidents of the queen-consort, who were too much in a hurry, already began to propose to Gaston to marry his brother's wife, who was in all appearance on the point of becoming a widow. The cardinal made preparations for retiring to Avignon. The king recovered, and those who had founded their hopes on his death were confounded. The cardinal followed him to Paris, where he found more intrigues than there were in Italy, between the empire, Spain, Venice, Savoy, Rome, and France.

Mirabel, the Spanish ambassador, had joined with the two queens against him. The two brothers of the name of Marillac, the one marshal of France, and the other keeper of the seals, who were indebted to him for their preferments, flattered themselves with the hopes of ruining him, and succeeding in his credit. The marshal of Bassompierre, without pretending to any thing, was in their secret. The king's first valet de chambre, Beringhen, communicated to the cabal all that passed in the king's apartment. The queen-mother a second time deprives the cardinal of his place of comptroller of her household, which she had been obliged to restore to him; an office which the cardinal looked upon as beneath his dignity and pride, but which that pride would not suffer him to lose. His niece, afterwards dutchess of Aiguillon,

lon, was dismissed; and Mary of Medicis, by dint of reiterated entreaties and complaints, obtained her son's promise to divest him of the ministry.

There was nothing more in these intrigues than what we every day meet with in the houses of private persons who have a great number of servants; they were common trifles; but here the fate of France, and even of Europe, depended on them. The private treaties with the Italian princes, with Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, with the United Provinces and the princes of Orange, against the emperor and Spain, were in the hands of Richelieu, and could not be taken from thence with-

Nov. 10, out endangering the state. Never-
1630 theless, the king's weakness, with
the inward dislike he had taken to

the cardinal on account of his superiority, determined him to give up this necessary minister, and, overcome by the obstinate solicitations and tears of his mother, he promised to disgrace him. The cardinal entered by a back-door into the room where they were concluding his ruin; the king rose and left the apartment without speaking to him; he now looked upon himself as lost, and prepared for a retreat to Havre-de-Grace, as he had a few months before done to retire to Avignon. His ruin appeared the more certain, as the king the same day gave the marechal de Marillac, the cardinal's declared enemy, a power to make peace and war in Piedmont. Then the cardinal prepared in earnest for his departure; he had already sent his riches five and twenty leagues off, on mules, with orders not to pass through any town, a

precaution he had taken against the hatred of the populace. His friends advise him to try one effort more with the king.

The cardinal accordingly goes to the king at Versailles, which was at that time a small hunting-seat which Lewis XIII. had bought for twenty thousand crowns, and which has since been made by Lewis XIV. one of the noblest palaces in Europe, at an immense expence. The king, who had sacrificed his minister thro' weakness, by the same weakness puts himself again into his hands, and gives up to him all those who had plotted his ruin. This day, which still goes by the name of the day of dupes, fixed the cardinal's absolute power.

The very next morning the
keeper of the seals was arrested and Nov. 11,
committed prisoner to Chatcaudun, 1630

where he died with grief. The same day the cardinal dispatched a messenger of state, in the king's name, to the two marechals, de la Force and Schomberg, with orders to arrest the marechal de Marillac, at the head of the army of which he was going to take the sole command. The messenger arrives an hour after the marechal had received the news of Richelieu's disgrace, and he finds himself a prisoner in the very instant that he thought himself master of the state, in conjunction with his brother. Richelieu resolved to bring this general to an ignominious death by the hand of the executioner, for extortion: the trial lasted near two years. We must relate the consequences that attended it, in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the thread of this affair, and to shew what revenge can effect when armed with

supreme power, and coloured with the appearances of justice.

The cardinal was not satisfied with depriving the marechal of the right of being tried by the courts of parliament assembled, a right which had been so often violated, nor with having appointed commissioners to try him at Verdun, on whose severity he thought he might depend. These first judges having, notwithstanding the threats and promises used to work upon them, agreed to admit the criminal to justify himself; the cardinal annulled the sentence, and appointed other judges, among whom were Marillac's most inveterate enemies; in particular Paul Hay du Chastelet, known by the bitter satire he wrote against the two brothers. Never was greater contempt shewn to the forms of justice and common decency, than by the cardinal on this occasion, who had the prisoner removed to his own country-house, where the trial was carried on in his presence.

It is expressly forbidden by the laws of the kingdom to detain any one prisoner in a private house; but there were no laws against powerful revenge. The laws of the church were as little respected as those of the state, and decency. The new keeper of the seals, Chateaneuf, who had lately succeeded the prisoner's brother, sat as president of the court, where decency forbid his appearance; and tho' a sub-deacon, and possessed of benefices, he presided at a criminal process; the cardinal had procured a dispensation from Rome, in virtue of which he had the power of passing sentence of death.

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This trial shews us, that the lives of the unfortunate depend on a desire of pleasing men in power. The most minute actions of the marshal's life were enquired into. They pretended to have discovered some abuses in the exercise of his command, some illicit though customary profits, which he had formerly made either by himself or his servants, in the building the citadel of Verdun. "It is an unheard of thing," said he to his judges, that a man of my rank should be prosecuted with so much rigour and injustice; my whole trial relates to nothing but hay, straw, stones, and lime."

Nevertheless, this general, covered with wounds, and bending beneath the servitude of forty years, was condemned to die, under the same king who had bestowed rewards on thirty subjects, who had been in open rebellion against him.

During the first preparations for this strange trial, the cardinal ordered Beringhen to leave the kingdom, and imprisoned all those who had attempted to overthrow him, or of whom he had the least suspicion. This display of a revenge as mean as cruel, seemed little to agree with a mind occupied with the state of Europe.

At that time he concluded that treaty with Gustavus Adolphus against Frederick II. which was intended to shake the imperial throne. It cost France only three hundred thousand livres per annum, to sow divisions in Germany, and to oppress both emperors at once till the peace of Westphalia; and Gustavus Adolphus had already entered upon the course of his victories, which gave France all the time and liberty it

could desire to establish its greatness, and to secure its own peace by the troubles of other nations; but the minister, by his want of moderation, excited the public hatred against him, and made his enemies implacable. Gaston duke of Orleans, the king's brother, fled from court to his appenage of Orleans, and from thence to Lorraine, protesting that he would never set foot in the kingdom so long as the cardinal, the persecutor of himself and his mother, continued at the helm of affairs. Richelieu caused all the friends and adherents of the duke to be declared guilty of high treason, by a decree of council. This decree was sent to the parliament to be registered; the voices were divided on this occasion. The king, incensed at this division, sent for the parliament to the Louvre, who went thither on foot, and addressed the king upon their knees. The act of division was torn before their faces, and three of the principal members were banished.

The cardinal was not contented with supporting his authority, now connected with that of his master, in this arbitrary manner. Having forced the presumptive heir of the crown to fly the kingdom, he made no scruple of causing the queen-mother to be put under arrest. This was a delicate undertaking, considering that the king had already repented of his behaviour to his mother, and of having sacrificed her to a favourite. The cardinal made use of arguments of state to stifle the voice of nature in the king, and set all the engines of religion to work to quiet his scruples. On this occasion, he employed the talents of father Joseph du Tremblay, a capuchin, as extraordinary a personage

sonage in his way as Richelieu himself; he was a cunning enthusiast, who could occasionally be either the fanatic or the impostor, and who attempted at one and the same time to set up a crusade against the Turks, to found the order of the nuns of mount Calvary, to turn poet and negociator, and to raise himself to the purple and the ministry. This man, being admitted into one of the private councils of conscience, invented to do evil under the appearance of good, undertook to prove to the king, that he not only might, but ought to put it out of his mother's power to oppose his minister. The court was then at Compeigne; the king quitted it, and left his mother surrounded with guards, who prevented her from stirring. Her friends, creatures, and servants, and even her own physician, were sent to the Bastile and other prisons. The Bastile was always full during this administration; the marechal de Bassompierre, only for being suspected of not being in the cardinal's interest, was shut up there during the life of that minister.

From that time Mary never saw her son nor Paris more, that city which she had beautified with the famous palace called the Luxembourg, with noble aqueducts unknown till her time, and with the fine public walk which still goes by the name of the Queen's. Continually a prey to favourites, she passed the rest of her days in a voluntary but unhappy exile. The widow of Henry the Great, the mother of a king of France, and the mother-in-law of three crowned heads, wanted sometimes the necessaries of life. The foundation of all these

quarrels was, that Lewis XIII. would be governed, and that he chose rather to be governed by his minister than his mother.

This Queen, who had so long governed the kingdom, fled first to Brussels; and, from her asylum there, calls to her son and the supreme courts of the kingdom for justice against her enemy. She becomes a petitioner to that parliament, (of Paris) whose remonstrances she had so often rejected while regent, and sent back from her presence to confine themselves to the trial of causes: so strongly does our way of thinking change with our fortunes. Her petition is still to be seen in these terms: "The petition of Mary, queen of France and Navarre, sheweth, that, since January 23, she has been detained prisoner in the castle of Compiègne, without being accused or suspected of, &c." The repeated complaints preferred against the cardinal by the queen's friends, lost great part of their force by being too strongly urged, and because those who dictated them for her, by mingling their own grievances with her sorrows, joined too many false accusations with the true ones; in short, she only added to her misfortunes by complaining of them.

1631 The minister answered the queen's representations against him, by getting himself created a duke and peer, and appointed governor of Brittany. Every thing seconded his wishes, not only in the kingdom, but also in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. Julius Mazarine, who had been employed by the pope as his minister in the affair of Mantua, was now become the minister of France, by his happy dexterity in negotiations; and, by serving car-
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dinal de Richelieu, he, without foreseeing it, laid the foundation of that fortune which afterwards made him that minister's successor. An advantageous treaty had lately been made with Savoy, by which that state ceded Pignerol for ever to France.

In the Low Countries the prince of Orange, by the assistance of the money he received from the French court, made several conquests upon the Spaniards, and the cardinal had intelligence even in Brussels.

In Germany, the extraordinary success of Gustavus's arms contributed to augment the merit of the cardinal's services in France. In a word, the uninterrupted prosperity of his administration deprived all his enemies of the power to hurt him, and left him at full liberty to pursue his revenge, which the good of the state seemed to authorize. He erected a court of justice, which passed sentence against all the friends and adherents of the queen-mother and the king's brother. The number of proscribed was prodigious; not a day passed without seeing gibbets loaded with the figures in effigy of those of both sexes, who had followed the fortunes, or shared in the councils of the two royal exiles; search was made after some physicians and drawers of nativities, who had said that the king had not long to live, and two were actually sent to the galleys. In short, the queen-mother's estates, and even her dowry, were confiscated; who thereupon wrote thus to her son: "I am not willing to charge you with the seizure of my estates, nor the inventory which has been taken of them, as if I was already dead; I can never believe that

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you

1631 you would deprive her of nourishment who gave you your life."

The whole kingdom murmured at these proceedings, but no one dared to speak out. Those who would have taken part with the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans, were withheld by their fears. The marshal duke of Montmorenci, who was governor of Languedoc, was the only one who at that time thought himself sufficiently powerful to withstand the cardinal's fortune, and to set himself up as the head of a party; but his great courage was not alone sufficient to support this dangerous part. He was not master of two provinces, like Lefdiguières, who had found means to make himself absolute in Dauphiny; his prodigality had put it out of his power to purchase a number of dependents, and his love of pleasure and amusement did not suffer him to attend wholly to business. In a word, to be the head of a party, he should have had a party, but he had none.

Gaston gave him the flattering title of avenger of the royal family. They thought themselves sure of the assistance of Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, whose sister the duke of Orleans had married; but Charles could not defend himself against Lewis, who had already made himself master of part of his dominions. The court of Spain gave the king's brother hopes of an army in the Netherlands and at Treves, to lead into France; but he with difficulty got together three thousand German horsemen, whom he could not pay, and who lived entirely upon plunder. It was supposed, that as soon as he appeared in France with this handful of men,
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all the nation was to join him; instead of which, not one stirred in his favour during his whole march, from the borders of Franche Compté to the provinces of the Loire, and as far as Languedoc. He hoped likewise that the duke of Epemon, who had marched over the whole kingdom to deliver the queen his mother, and who had carried on a war, and afterwards concluded a peace, in her favour, would now declare for that queen whose cause he had so warmly supported, and for one of her sons, the presumptive heir of the crown, against a minister, whose pride had so frequently mortified his own. This resource, however, powerful as it seemed, failed as others had done. The duke of Epemon, who had almost ruined himself in assisting the queen-mother, complained of having been neglected by her, after such essential services. He hated the cardinal more than any person living, but at the same time he began to fear him.

The prince of Condé, who had engaged in a war to oppose the marshal d'Ancre when minister of state, was far from thinking of declaring against Richelieu; he yielded to this minister's genius, and, solely intent upon making his own fortune, solicited the command of the army on the other side the Loire, against his brother-in-law, Montmorenci. The count of Soissons had then only an impotent hatred to the cardinal, and did not dare to declare himself.

The duke of Orleans thus deserted, only because he was not strong enough, traversed the kingdom more like a fugitive at the head of foreign banditti, than a prince marching to
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give battle to a king. At length he comes to Languedoc, where he is joined by the duke of Montmorenci with six or seven thousand men, which he called an army, and which he had raised partly at his own expence, and partly by promises. Discord, which always insinuates itself into parties, weakened these forces almost as soon as they were gathered together. The duke of Elbeuf, Gaston's favourite, wanted to share the command with Montmorenci, who had been at all the charge and trouble, and was in his own government.

The very day of the battle of Castlenaudari was opened by a dispute between Gaston and Montmorenci. This could hardly be
 Sept. 1, called a battle; it was an encounter,
 1631 a skirmish, in which the duke fell upon a small detachment of the royal army, commanded by marechal Schomberg; and, whether through his natural impetuosity, through vexation and despair, or by having drank too freely, which was but too common at that time, he leaped a large ditch, followed only by five or six of his people. This was fighting like the old knight-errants, and not like a general. After breaking through several of the enemy's ranks, he fell to the ground wounded, and was taken in sight of the duke of Orleans and his little army, who made not the least motion to assist him.

There was another of Henry IV.'s sons present at this battle besides Gaston; this was the count of Moret, the natural issue of that monarch and mademoiselle de Beuil, who ventured his person more than the lawful heir, and would not quit Montmorenci, but was slain fighting

fighting by his side. This is the same count of Moret whom report afterwards brought to life and made an hermit; an idle story which was blended with these fatal events.

The taking of Montmorenci totally dispirited Gaston, and dispersed the army which he owed wholly to that nobleman.

The prince had now nothing left but to submit. The court sent Bullion, counsellor of state, and comptroller of the finances, to him, with a promise of Montmorenci's pardon. Nevertheless this pardon was not stipulated in the treaty the king made with his brother, or rather the amnesty he granted him: it is not adding nobly to deceive the weak and unfortunate; but the cardinal was bent upon humbling the king's brother, and putting Montmorenci to death. Gaston himself promised in an article of this treaty, "To love the cardinal de Richelieu."

The fatal end of the marechal duke of Montmorenci * is well known. His punishment was just, though that of the marechal de Marillac's had not been so. But the death of so hopeful an officer, who, by his great courage, generosity, and amiable qualifications, had gained the

* He was tried at Tholouse before commissioners, of whom the chief was an ecclesiastic, monsieur de l'Aubessinc de Chateaufort, who obtained a dispensation from the pope for being present as judge at a trial for life: but this dispensation could not screen him from the guilt of ingratitude. In condemning a nobleman to whose father he had been page. The duke de Montmorenci was beheaded at Tholouse, on the thirtieth day of October, in the year 1631, and still universally regretted, as the most accomplished and amiable nobleman in France.

love and esteem of all France, made the cardinal more odious than that of Marillac had done. It has been said, that when he was committed to prison, a bracelet was found on his arm with the picture of Mary of Medicis. This circumstance always passed for certain with the court, and is perfectly agreeable to the spirit of the times. Madam de Motteville, that princess's confidant, acknowledges in her memoirs, that the duke of Montmorenci had, like Buckingham, prided himself in being touched with her charms. It was the Spanish Galanteria*, somewhat like the Italian Cicisbei, the remains of chivalry, which however did not at all contribute to abate the severity of Lewis XIII.

Oct. 30, Montmorenci, before he went to
1632 death, bequeathed a famous picture of Carrachio to the cardinal. This was not the spirit of the times, but a new turn of thinking inspired by the approach of death, and looked upon by some as an instance of Christian magnanimity, and by others as weakness.

Nov. 15, The king's brother, after re-
1631 turning to France only to see his friend and protector die upon the scaffold, and himself banished from the court as a favour, and in hourly apprehension for his liberty, once more left the kingdom, and fled to Spain, where he joined his mother in Brussels.

Under any other administration, a queen and the presumptive heir of the crown, fled for refuge in an enemy's country, the general discontent that prevailed among all orders of the state, and the blood of an hundred families to be

be revenged, would have distracted the kingdom under the new circumstances in which Europe then was. Gustavus Adolphus, the scourge of the house of Austria, had been killed in the battle of Lutzen near Leipfick in the midst of his vic-

Nov. 16,

1632

tories; and the emperor, freed from that powerful enemy, might, in conjunction with Spain, have overwhelmed France; but, what had hardly ever happened, the Swedes maintained themselves in a strange country even after the death of their chief. Germany was likewise a prey to the same bloody troubles as before, and the Spanish monarchy was every day growing weaker. All cabals then must necessarily sink beneath the cardinal's power, and yet not a day passed without intrigues and factions, of which he was the chief cause himself, by those private weaknesses which are always intermingled with important affairs; and which, in despite of the artifices used to disguise them, discover the littlenesses of grandeur. It is pretended that the dutchess of Chevreuse, who was always intriguing and still preserved her charms, had by her artifices drawn in the cardinal to have that passion for her with which she wanted to inspire him, and that she made a sacrifice of him to Chateauneuf, the keeper of the seals. The commander de Jars, and others, had likewise a share in her confidence. Queen Anne, Lewis's consort, had no other consolation in the loss of her credit at court, but that of assisting the dutchess of Chevreuse to make him contemptible whom she could not otherwise destroy. The dutchess pretended to have an inclination for

for the cardinal, and formed her intrigues in expectation of his death, which frequent disorders had made as near in appearance as she could wish. A term of reproach which the cardinal always made use of in mentioning the cardinal, was what offended him the most*.

The keeper of the seals was imprisoned without form of trial, because they could not bring him to trial. The commander de Jars, 1633 and others, who were accused of maintaining a secret correspondence with the queen-mother and duke of Orleans, were condemned by commissioners to be beheaded. The commander was pardoned upon the scaffold, but the others were executed.

Not only those who were suspected or accused of being in the duke of Orleans interest were persecuted, but Charles IV. duke of Lorraine was likewise made the victim of the cardinal's 1635 designs. Lewis having made himself master of Nanci, promised the duke to restore him his capital, provided he would put his sister Margaret into his hands, who had been privately married to his brother Gaston. This match was the source of new disputes and quarrels in the church and state: these disputes were of a nature to bring about a great revolution; no less than the succession to the crown was concerned, and there had not happened so important a matter of controversy, since that about the Salique law.

The king insisted that his brother's marriage with Margaret of Lorraine should be annulled; and by that means, if a prince should be born

* They called him *Cu pourri*, or rotten a---e.

of this marriage, he wanted to have this prince, his nephew, and heir to the kingdom, declared a bastard, and incapable of inheriting. The duke of Orleans' marriage had been celebrated in the presence of witnesses, authorised by the father and all the relations of his wife, consummated, and legally acknowledged by all parties, and solemnly confirmed by the archbishop of Malines. This marriage was regarded as valid and indissoluble by the whole court of Rome, and all the foreign universities; and even the family of Lorraine declared afterwards, that it was not in the pope's power to annul it, and that it was an unalterable sacrament.

The welfare of the state required that the princes of the blood should not be allowed to dispose of themselves without the king's will. The same reason might hereafter require of them to acknowledge as lawful king of France the issue of this marriage, now declared unlawful, but this danger was at a distance; the voice of present interest prevailed, and it became necessary, notwithstanding the opinion of the church, that a sacrament like that of marriage should be annulled, if it had not received the previous assent of him who was in the place of father of the family.

An edict of the council did that which Rome and the council had never done; and the king went with the cardinal to the parliament of Paris to have it verified. The cardinal spoke at the bed of justice in character of prime minister, and peer of France. You may form some idea of the eloquence of those times from two or three passages in the cardinal's harangue: he said that "To convert a soul

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soul was more than to create a world ; that the king no more dared to touch his mother than he did the ark ; and again, that there never happens more than two or three relapses in acute diseases, unless the noble parts are injured." Almost all his harangue was in this stile, and yet it was perhaps as good as any that was pronounced at that time. This bad taste, which then prevailed, was no abasement to the minister's genius ; and the spirit of government has at all times been found compatible with false eloquence and false wit. The marriage of the duke of Orleans was solemnly annulled, and even the general assembly of the clergy in 1635, in conformity with the edict, declared all marriages contracted by the princes of the blood, without the king's consent, to be null and void. The see of Rome, however, did not confirm this law of the church and state of France.

The situation of the royal family of France became the point of controversy in all Europe. If the presumptive heir to the crown of that kingdom persisted in maintaining the marriage which had been annulled by this law, the children born of that marriage were bastards in France, and could not succeed to their inheritance without a civil war : if he took another wife, the children born of this fresh marriage were bastards at Rome, and would raise a civil war against the children of the first.

The duke of Orleans by his resolution, of which this was the only example, prevented things being brought to such extremities ; and a few years afterwards the king consented to acknowledge his brother's wife. But that part of the edict which renders null the marriages

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contracted by the princes of the blood, without the king's consent, remains still in force.

This obstinacy of the cardinal's, in pushing his revenge against the prince, even to his domestic affairs, in taking from him his wife, in stripping his brother-in-law, the duke of Lorraine, of his dominions, and in keeping the queen-mother in exile and indigence, at length roused the friends of the royal refugees, who entered into a plot to assassinate him. Father Chameloubé, a priest of the oratory, and almoner to Henry of Medicis, was justly accused of having hired murderers, one of which was broken on the wheel at Metz. There were but few of these attempts; many more had been made against the life of Henry IV. but fanaticism produces greater crimes than the most inveterate hatred.

The cardinal, who was much better guarded than Henry IV. had nothing to fear, and he triumphed over all his enemies. The queen-mother's and the duke of Orleans little court, which was wandering and desolate, was filled with dissensions and factions, which always attend misfortune.

Richelieu had more powerful enemies to oppose. He resolved, notwithstanding the secret troubles which preyed upon the vitals of the kingdom, to establish the power and reputation of France abroad, and to complete the grand scheme of Henry IV. by making open war with the whole house of Austria, in Germany, Italy, and Spain. By this war he rendered himself necessary to a master who did not love him, and with whom his enemies were incessantly labouring to ruin him. His reputation was concerned

in this undertaking, as the time seemed to be come for crushing the Austrian power, now on its decline. Picardy and Champagne were still the limits of France; these limits might be enlarged while the Swedes were still in the empire. The United Provinces were ready to attack the king of Spain in Flanders, provided they could depend upon the least assistance from France. These were the sole motives of the war against the emperor, which continued till the treaty of Westphalia; and of that against Spain, which lasted for a long time after, till ended by the treaty of the Pyrenees. All other reasons were only pretences.

The court of France had hitherto endeavoured to take advantage of the troubles of Germany, under the title of ally to the Swedes, and mediators in the empire. The Swedes had lost the great battle at Nordlingen, and even their defeat proved serviceable to France, as it brought them to be dependent on that kingdom. Chancellor Oxenstiern came to Compeigne, to do homage to the cardinal's fortune, who was now master of affairs in Germany, which had before been in the chancellor's hands. At the same time he made a treaty with the states-general, to share with them the Spanish Netherlands, which he looked upon as an easy conquest.

Lewis XIII. sent an herald at arms to Brussels to declare war. This herald was to present a cartel of defiance to the cardinal-infant, son to Philip III. who was at that time governor of the Low Countries. It is to be observed that this cardinal prince, agreeable to the customs of those times, had the command of the army, and was one of the chiefs who gained the battle

of Nordlingen against the Swedes. In this age we see the cardinals Richelieu, de la Valette, and Sourdis, putting on armour and marching at the head of armies. All these customs are now changed. This was the last declaration of war made by an herald at arms; since that time each party has thought it sufficient to publish it at home, without sending into the enemies country to declare it.

Cardinal Richelieu drew the duke of Savoy and the duke of Parma into this alliance: he likewise made sure of Barnard duke of Saxe-Weimar, by giving him a pension of four millions of livres *per ann.* and promising him the landgravate of Alsace. None of these events, however, answered the political views with which they were framed. Alsace, which was to be given to Weimar, fell a considerable time afterwards into the hands of France; and Lewis XIII. who was in one campaign to share the Spanish Netherlands with the Dutch, 1636 lost his army, and was very near seeing all Picardy fall a prey to the Spaniards. They had actually taken Corbie; and the count of Galas, the imperial general, and the duke of Lorraine, were in the neighbourhood of Dijon. The French army were at first unsuccessful on all sides, and stood in need of the greatest efforts to resist those whom they thought to beat so easily.

In a word, the cardinal saw himself in a very short time on the point of being ruined by that very war which he had raised for the establishment of his own greatness and that of France. His power at court suffered for some time by the bad success of public affairs. The duke of Orleans,

Orleans, whose life was a perpetual reflux of quarrels and reconciliations with the king his brother, was returned to France; and the cardinal was obliged to resign the command of the army to this prince and the count of Soissons, who retook Corbie. He now saw himself exposed to the resentment of these two princes. This was a time of conspiracies and duels, as I have already observed. The same persons who afterwards, in conjunction with cardinal de Retz, brought about the first troubles of the Fronde, and were concerned in the barricades, from that time took every opportunity of exercising that factious spirit with which they were devoured. Gaston and the count of Soissons countenanced them in all their attempts against the cardinal. It was resolved to assassinate him even in the king's presence: but the duke of Orleans, who always did things by halves, terrified at the attempt, neglected to give the signal which had been agreed on by the conspirators.

The Imperialists were driven out of Burgundy, and the Spaniards from Picardy. The duke of Weimar was successful in Alsace, and made himself master of almost that landgraviate, which the court of France had guaranteed to him. In fine, after a series of greater advantages than there had been losses, fortune, who preserved the cardinal's life from so many plots against it, preserved his reputation likewise, which depended on success.

This love of glory put him upon endeavouring to gain the first place in the empire of wit and learning, even in the most critical situation of national affairs and his own, and in the
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midst of those attempts to which his life was continually exposed. He created the French academy at this time, and exhibited theatrical pieces in his own palace, in the 1637 composition of which he himself had sometimes a share. As soon as the danger was past, he resumed all his wonted pride and fierceness: for it was at this very time that he fomented the first troubles of England, and that he wrote that note which was the forerunner of all the misfortunes of Charles I. "Before a year is elapsed, the king of England will find that I am not to be despised."

When the prince of Condé was obliged to raise the siege of Fontarabia, after 1638 his army was beaten, and the duke de la Valerte was accused of not having properly assisted him, he caused that duke, who had fled, to be condemned by a court of commissioners, at which the king himself presided. This was an ancient custom in the constitution of the peerage, when kings were looked upon only as the heads of the peers: but under a government purely monarchical, the presence and opinion of the sovereign had too much influence on the opinions of the judges.

This war of the cardinal's raising, was not fully successful till the complete victory gained by the duke of Weimar over the Imperialists, in which he took four generals of the empire prisoners, took possession of Fribourg and Brisack; and till at length the Spanish branch of the house of Austria lost Portugal by the only successful conspiracy which had happened in those times; and that it afterwards lost Catalonia by an open revolt towards the end of the year

year 1640. But before fortune had disposed of all these extraordinary events in favour of France, the country was exposed to ruin. The troops began to be ill payed; Grotius, who was ambassador from Sweden to the court of Paris says, that the finances were badly managed. His observation is very just; for the cardinal was obliged some time after the loss of Corbie to create twenty-four new counsellors of the parliament and one president. Certainly there was no want of new judges, and it was shameful to create them merely for the sake of raising money by the sale of their places. The parliament accordingly complained of it; and all the answer they received was, that the cardinal imprisoned five of its magistrates who had represented their grievances like men of spirit. Every one who dared to oppose him at court, in the parliament, or in the armies, were disgraced, banished, or imprisoned.

Lewis XIII. always stood in need of a confident called a favourite, who was capable of amusing his melancholy disposition, and of being the depository of his uneasinesses. This post was occupied by the duke of St. Simon; but not having taken sufficient care to keep well with the cardinal, he was driven from court, and banished to Blayes *.

The king sometimes devoted himself to the fair sex: he was fond of Mademoiselle de la Fayette, maid of honour to the queen his wife, so far as a weak, scrupulous, and indifferent person could be said to love. The jesuit Caussin,

* A town of Guienne in France, on the river Garonne.

the king's confessor, countenanced this connection, as it might prove instrumental in procuring the queen-mother's return. Mademoiselle de la Fayette, at the same time that she encouraged the king's passion was in the interest of the two queens against the cardinal: but the minister soon prevailed over the mistress and the confessor, as he had done over the two queens. Mademoiselle de la Fayette, through fear of his resentment, threw herself into a convent, and soon afterwards father Causin was arrested, and sent into banishment 1637 in Lower Brittany.

Christina, dutchess of Savoy, daughter of Henry IV. widow to Lewis Amadeus, and regent of Savoy, had also a Jesuit confessor, who caballed against the court of France, and exasperated his royal penitent against the cardinal. That minister, preferring revenge and the interest of the state to the law of nations, made no scruple of seizing the Jesuit in the dutchess's dominions. The queen consort herself was treated like a common culprit, for having wrote to the dutchess of Chevreuse, who was the cardinal's enemy, and had fled the kingdom. Her papers were seized, and she herself obliged to undergo an examination before the chancellor Sequier.

All these particulars collected together, form a faithful portrait of this minister. The same man seemed made to lord it over all the family of the great king Henry IV. to persecute his widow in foreign countries; to ill use his son Gaston; to raise factions against his daughter, the queen of England; and lastly, to humble Lewis XIII. by making him powerful, and his wife

wife tremble. Thus he passed his whole administration in raising the public hatred and revenging himself; and every year produced new rebellions, and new punishments. The revolt of the count of Soissons was the most dangerous. It was supported by the duke of Bouillon, son to the marechal of that name, who received him into Sedan †; by the duke of Guise, grandson to Balafree, who with the courage of his ancestors resolved to restore the fortunes of his house; and lastly, by the king of Spain, who furnished him with money and troops from the Low Countries.

The count of Soissons, and the duke of Bouillon had a good army and knew how to conduct it; and for the greater security, it was resolved, while the army was advancing, to assassinate the cardinal, and make an insurrection at Paris. The cardinal de Retz, who was at that time very young, served his first apprenticeship to conspiracies in this plot. The battle of Marée, gained by the count of Soissons over the king's troops near Sedan, would have greatly encouraged the conspirators; but the death of that prince, who was killed in the engagement, again extricated the cardinal
1641 from this new danger. It was now for once out of his power to punish; for he did not know of the conspiracy against his life, and the rebel army was victorious. He therefore found it necessary to enter into a treaty with the duke of Bouillon, who was in possession of Sedan. The duke of Guise, the same who

† A strong town of Champagne in France.

afterwards made himself master of Naples, was the only one who suffered on this occasion, being condemned for contumacy in the parliament of Paris.

The duke of Bouillon, who was restored to favour at court, and outwardly reconciled to the cardinal, swore fidelity, and at the same time formed a new conspiracy. As every one who was about the king hated his minister, and as the king could not be without a favourite, Richelieu himself gave him one in the person of young Effiat Cinq-Mars, that he might have a creature of his own about the throne. This young man, who was soon made master of the horse, wanted to be in the council, and the cardinal, who would not suffer it, had immediately an irreconcilable enemy in him. What the more emboldened Cinq-Mars to plot against him was, the king's own behaviour, who being frequently displeased with his minister, and offended with his pride and state, used to impart his dislike to his favourite, whom he always called his Dear Friend, and spoke in such sharp terms against Richelieu, that it encouraged Cinq-Mars to propose to his majesty several times to have him assassinated. This is proved by a letter which Lewis XIII. himself wrote to chancellor Seguier. But the king afterwards took such a dislike to his favourite, that he frequently banished him from his presence; so that Cinq-Mars conceived an equal hatred to Lewis and his minister. He had engaged in a correspondence with the count of Soissons before his death, and afterwards continued to carry it on with the duke of Bouillon; and the king's brother, who after his many unsuccessful

schemes remained quiet in his apennage of Blois, grown weary at length of a life of idleness, and being importuned by the conspirators, entered into the confederacy. His chief object in all his undertakings was the cardinal's death, a scheme which had been frequently attempted and as often frustrated.

1642 Lewis XIII. and Richelieu, who were at that time both attacked by a disorder which was more dangerous than conspiracies, and which soon brought them both to the grave, marched together into Roussillon, to divest the house of Austria for ever of that province. The duke of Bouillon, whom they should not have entrusted with a command, just after having been in arms against the king, was at the head of an army in Piedmont, against the Spaniards, and at that very time were plotting with the king's brother and Cinq-Mars. The conspirators made a treaty with Spain for a body of troops to be sent into France in order to throw every thing into confusion during a regency, which they looked upon as very near, and of which every one hoped to make advantage. Cinq-Mars, who at that time had followed the king into Narbonne, was more in his good graces than ever; and Richelieu, who was ill at Tarascon, had lost all his credit, and kept his ground only by being necessary.

The cardinal's good fortune would have it that this plot likewise should be discovered; a copy of the treaty fell into his hands. This cost Cinq-Mars his life*. There was an anecdote

* He was beheaded at Lyons, together with monsieur de Thou.

dote handed about by the courtiers of those days, that the king, who was frequently wont to call the master of his horse his Dear Friend, pulled out his watch at the hour appointed for his execution, and turning to those about him said, "I fancy my Dear Friend makes a very bad figure just now." The duke of Bouillon was put under arrest at the head of his army at Casal. He saved his life because they wanted his principality of Sedan more than his life: and he who had twice betrayed the state, preserved his dignity of prince, and in exchange for Sedan, had lands of a much greater value given him. De Thou †, whose only fault was the having

† This was the son of the historian: he was king's counsellor, and master of requests of the king's household, a man of profound erudition and unblemished integrity. Some people believed that the cardinal revenged on him what his father had said in his history, of Anthony du Plessis de Richelieu, one of the cardinal's great uncles. Speaking of the conspiracy of Amboise, the historian says, *Antonius Plessiacus Richelieus, vulgo dictus monachus, quod cum vitam professus fuisset; dein votojurato, anni se licentie ac libidinis genere contaminasset.* "Anthony du Plessis de Richelieu, commonly called a monk, because he had professed that kind of life; afterwards renouncing his vows, he defiled himself with every species of licentiousness and libertinism." Francis Augustus de Thou suffered in the thirty-fifth year of his age, with the most philosophical composure. About an hour before his execution, he wrote with his own hand the following classical inscription, to be put upon a chapel he had founded at the Cordeliers of Tarascon, in performance of a vow which he had made at that town when he was first imprisoned.

*Christo Liberatori,
Votum in carcere pro libertati conceptum,
Franc. Augustus Thuanus
E carcere vitæ jam jam liberandus,
Mento solvit. Sept. 12, 1642.*

been privy to the conspiracy, which he at the same time disapproved, was condemned to die for not having discovered it; notwithstanding that he pleaded in excuse that he could not have been able to prove a deposition of that kind; and that he should have been much more deserving of death, had he accused the king's brother of a crime against the state, without sufficient evidence to make good his charge. This obvious justification was not allowed by the cardinal, who was his mortal enemy. The judges condemned him upon a law made by Lewis XI. whose name is alone sufficient to prove it to have been a cruel one. The queen herself was privy to the plot; but not being accused, she escaped the mortifications she must otherwise have suffered. As to Gaston duke of Orleans, he, as usual, impeached his accomplices, and humbled himself, consenting to remain at Blois without guards, or any other of the honours belonging to his dignity; it had been always his fate to bring his friends to a prison or a scaffold.

The cardinal displayed all his haughty rigour in his revenge authorised by justice. He carried the master of the horse after him from Tarascon to Lyons on the Rhone, in a boat fastened to the stern of that in which he himself was; and, though struck with death himself, exulting in the fall of him who was going to suffer by the hand of the executioner. From thence the cardinal was carried to Paris upon the shoulders of his guards, in a large litter, where two men could stand by his bed-side: a breach was made in the walls of the towns though which he passed, in order to give him a more

commodious entrance. In this manner he went to finish his life in Paris, at the age of fifty-eight, leaving the king Dec. 2, 1642, pleased with being rid of him, and yet perplexed with being his own master. It is said that this minister governed after his death, because some vacant places were filled with those of his nomination: but the commissions had been made out before his death; and what proves beyond contradiction that he had already governed too long and had lost his power is, that all those whom he had shut up in the Bastile, were released as soon as he was dead, as victims who were no longer to be sacrificed to his vengeance. He left the king three millions of our money, at fifty livres to the mark, which sum he always kept by him in reserve. The expence of his household after he came to be prime minister, amounted to a thousand crowns a-day. Every thing about him was splendid and stately; whereas, in the king's family, all was plain and simple. His guards attended him quite to the room-door whenever he went to his master. He took precedence of all the princes of the blood: he wanted nothing but the crown; and even while he lay on his death-bed, and still entertained hopes of surviving the king, he took measures for being made regent of the July 3, 1642, kingdom. Henry IV's widow died about five months before him, and Lewis XIII. followed him about five months afterwards.

It was difficult to say which of the three was most unhappy. The queen mother, after having been long a wanderer, died very poor in Cologne. The son, though master of a no-

ble kingdom, neither tasted the sweets of greatness, if it affords any, nor those of society; he was always under a yoke, and always endeavouring to shake it off; subject to an ill state of health, gloomy, melancholy, and insupportable even to himself: he had not one servant who loved him, he distrusted his own wife, was hated by his brother, deserted by his mistresses, without having experienced the pleasures of love, betrayed by his favourites, and abandoned on the throne. The condition of the meanest of his subjects who lived in peace was infinitely preferable to his.

The cardinal was perhaps the most unhappy of the three, because he was the most hated; and that though labouring under a bad state of health, he was obliged to support an immense burthen with hands imbrued in blood.

In these times of conspiracies and punishments the kingdom however was in a flourishing condition; and notwithstanding the troubles which prevailed, the age of politeness and the liberal arts began to discover itself. Lewis XIII. contributed nothing towards this change; it was chiefly owing to the care and industry of cardinal Richelieu. Philosophy indeed could not as yet shake off the rust of the schools; but Corneille in 1635, began that famous æra of science, known by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. by his incomparable tragedy of the Cid; Le Pouffin equalled Raphael d'Urbain in some parts of painting. Sculpture was soon brought to perfection by Girardon, as may be seen by Richelieu's monument. The French began to make themselves esteemed every where by their agreeable and polite manners. In a word

word, this was the dawn of good taste. The nation was not yet what it became afterwards; neither was trade so well cultivated, nor the general police established. The inner parts of the kingdom were yet to be regulated. Paris was the only handsome city, and that wanted many necessary things, as we shall see hereafter in the age of Lewis XIV. The manner of living as well as the dress of those times, was in every respect different from what it is at present; insomuch, that were the people of our days to see those of that time, they would not think they saw their fathers. The buskins, the doublet, the cloak, the large ruff, the whiskers, and the little pointed beard, would render them as strange to us as their passions for plots, their eagerness for duels, their tavern debaucheries, and their universal ignorance, notwithstanding their natural good sense.

The nation was not so rich as it has since become, either in coined specie or wrought silver; and though the administration drew all it could from the people, it was not able to raise above one half the annual income of Lewis XIV. They were likewise inferior to us in the riches of industry. The coarse cloth manufactures of Rouen and Elbeuf were the finest then known in France: there was no tapestry, nor crystal or plate glass. The art of watch-making was but in its infancy, and consisted in putting a spring upon the fusee of a watch, pendulums not being then invented. The maritime commerce in the sea-ports of the Levant was ten times less than it is at present; that of America consisted only in a few furs from Canada: they sent no ships to the East Indies,

while the Dutch had large kingdoms there, and the English very considerable settlements.

Consequently there was much less money in the nation than there is at present; the government borrowed at higher interest: the least it gave for annuities at cardinal Richelieu's death was seven and a half per cent. This may serve as an incontestable proof among many others, that the Political Will said to be made by that minister could not be his. The ignorant and absurd impostor who has forged his name, says, in the first chapter of the second part, that the possession of these annuities brings in the first purchase money in seven years and an half: he has taken the seventh penny, for seven and a half per cent, and does not perceive that the reimbursement of a capital in seven years and an half, instead of giving seven and a half, gives fourteen per cent per ann. The whole of what he says throughout this chapter, shews him to be equally ignorant of the first elements of arithmetic, as he is of state-affairs. I enter into this short detail only to shew how mankind may be imposed on by a name: so long as this work of darkness passed for cardinal Richelieu's, it was extolled for a masterpiece; but those who have discovered this to be a forgery, have found it full of errors and falsehoods.

C H A P. CXLVII.

Of the Government and Manners of SPAIN,
from the Reign of PHILIP II. to that of
PHILIP IV.

WE have seen that after the death of Philip II. the Spanish monarchs confirmed their absolute power in their own dominions, and insensibly lost their authority in Europe. This decline began to manifest itself in the first year of the reign of Philip III. the weakness of whose character communicated itself to all parts of his administration. It was difficult to extend a constant and equal care and vigilance to the vast possessions in Asia, Africa, America, Italy, and the Netherlands: but his father had overcome these difficulties; and the riches of Mexico, Peru, the Brazils, and the East Indies, might have empowered his son to overcome all obstacles. But there was such a remissness in the administration, and such treachery in the management of the public revenues, that in the war against the United Provinces, there was not money sufficient to pay the Spanish troops, who thereupon mutinied and deserted, to the number of three thousand, over to prince Maurice. A private stadtholder by a prudent oeconomy, was able to pay his troops better than the sovereign of so many kingdoms. Philip III. might have covered the ocean with his fleets, and yet the small provinces of Holland and Zealand were superior to him at sea. With their fleet they took from him the principal

Molucca islands, particularly that of Amboyna, which has ever since continued in the possession of the Dutch. In a word, these seven small provinces baffled all the forces of this vast monarchy by land, and made themselves superior by sea.

Philip III. though at peace with France and England, and engaged only in this one war, with a new formed republic, was obliged to conclude a truce of twelve years with it, and to leave it in possession of all it had taken from him; to secure to it its trade in the great Indies; and finally, to restore to the house of Nassau all the possessions it had situated in the lands of the Spanish monarchy. Henry IV. had the glory of concluding this truce by his ambassadors. It is generally the weakest side that asks a truce, and yet prince Maurice would not apply for one: it was even more difficult to get his consent to it than the king of Spain's.

The expulsion of the Moors was still more prejudicial to the monarchy. Philip III. could not crush an inconsiderable number of Hollanders, and yet he was unfortunate enough to be able to expel between six and seven hundred thousand Moors from his dominions. These remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were for the most part destitute of arms, employed wholly in trade and agriculture, far less formidable in Spain than the protestants were in France, and much more useful, because they were laborious in a country given up to idleness. They were obliged to put on the appearance of being Christians: the inquisition persecuted them without ceasing; this persecution

cution occasioned some few insurrections, but they were very weak and easily quelled. Henry IV. designed to take these people under his protection: but his correspondence with them was discovered by a clerk of the office for foreign affairs; and this discovery occasioned their dispersion. It had already been resolved to drive them out of the kingdom. They made an offer of two millions of gold ducats for permission to breathe the air of Spain, but in vain; the council was inflexible. Twenty thousand of these proscribed wretches took refuge among the mountains; but having no other arms than slings and stones, they were soon put to the rout. Two whole years were taken up in transporting subjects out of the kingdom, and depopulating the state. Philip thus deprived himself of the most laborious part of his subjects, instead of imitating the Turks, who know how to keep the Greeks under proper subjection, without obliging them to seek for settlements in foreign countries.

The greatest part of these Spanish Moors took refuge in Africa, their ancient country; some removed to France during the regency of Mary of Medecis; those who would not renounce their religion, embarked in the ports of that kingdom for Tunis; a few families, who embraced the christian faith, settled in Provence and Languedoc, and some in Paris, where their race was not unknown: but at length these refugees were incorporated with the rest of the nation, who profited by the fault of the Spanish monarch, which it after imitated by the expulsion of the reformed. Thus have all nations been intermingled, and one people swallowed

up in another, sometimes by persecutions, and at other times by conquests.

This great emigration, added to that which happened under Ferdinand and Isabella, and to the numerous colonies which avarice had transplanted into the new world, insensibly exhausted Spain of its inhabitants, and that monarchy soon became a mighty body without substance. Superstition, the vice of weak minds, was another subject of disgrace to the reign of Philip III. his court was only a chaos of intrigues, like that of Lewis XIII. These two princes could neither of them live without favourites, nor reign without prime ministers. The duke of Lerma, who was afterwards cardinal, governed for a long time both king and kingdom, till the general confusion of affairs drove him from his place. He was succeeded by his son; but the kingdom was not the better for it.

1621 The disorder in the state increased under the reign of Philip IV. son to Philip III. His favourite, the count duke of Olivarez, made him take the surname of Great on his accession to the throne. Had he been really so, he would not have needed a prime minister. Europe and his own subjects refused him this title; and afterwards when he lost Roussillon, by the inferiority of his arms, Portugal by his negligence, and Catalonia by the abuse he made of his power, the public voice gave him a ditch for his device, with these words: "The more is taken from it the greater it is."

This fine kingdom was at that time weak without doors, and miserable within. It was a stranger to all kind of police. Its domestic commerce was ruined, by the duties which they
con-

continued to raise from one province to another. Every one of these provinces had formerly been a petty kingdom, and the ancient customs were still kept up. What had formerly been a necessary law was now become an absolute burthen. The government did not know how to form all these different parts into an uniform whole. The same error has been introduced into France; but in Spain it was carried to such an excess, that it was forbidden even to carry money out of one province into another. No industry seconded the gifts of nature in this happy climate: neither the silks of Valentia, nor the fine woollen stuffs of Andalusia and Castile were made by the hands of the natives. Fine linen cloaths were an article of luxury then very little known. The Flemish manufacturers, the remains of the establishments of the house of Burgundy, furnished Madrid with all it then knew of magnificence. Gold and silver stuffs were prohibited in the kingdom, as in an indigent republic, afraid of being impoverished. And indeed, notwithstanding the mines of the new world, Spain was so poor that Philip IV's ministry was reduced to the necessity of coining copper money, and giving it a price nearly equivalent to that of silver; so that the master of Mexico and Peru was obliged to make use of counterfeit coin, to defray the expences of the state. They did not dare, according to the wise Gourville, to impose personal taxes, because as the burghers and the country people had hardly any moveables, they could never be compelled to pay the sums assessed upon them. Never was the saying of Charles V. more completely

pletely verified: "France abounds in every thing, Spain wants every thing."

The reign of Philip IV. was only a series of losses and disgraces; and the count duke Olivarez was as unfortunate in his administration as cardinal de Richelieu was happy in his.

The Dutch, who began the war again at the expiration of the twelve years truce, 1625 took the Barzils from Spain, of which they still retain Surinam. They likewise took Maastricht, which still continues in their possession. Philip's armies were driven out of the Valteline and Piedmont by the French, without a declaration of war; and at length after war was declared in 1635, his arms proved unsuccessful in all parts. Artois was invaded; Catalonia jealous of its privileges, upon which he had made encroachments, revolts all together, and puts itself under the dominion of France. Portugal shook off his yoke; and by a conspiracy as vigorously executed as it had been well conducted, the family of Braganza was seated on the throne of that kingdom. The prime minister, Olivarez, had the confusion of having himself contributed to this great revolution, by sending money to the duke of Braganza to take from him all pretence of not coming to Madrid. With this very money the duke paid the conspirators.

The revolution was not difficult. Olivarez had been imprudent enough to recall a Spanish garrison from Lisbon. There were few troops left to guard the kingdom. The people were exasperated with a new tax that was going to be laid upon them; and, to complete all, the prime minister thinking to deceive the duke of Bra-

Braganza, had given him the command of the arsenal. The dutchess of Mantua, who was vice-queen, was driven out of the kingdom, without a single person to stir in her defence. A Spanish secretary of state and one of his clerks were the only victims sacrificed to the public vengeance. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of Lisbon, almost in the same day. Don John of Braganza was universally proclaimed king without the least disturbance: a son does not succeed more peaceably to the possessions of his father. Ships were dispatched from Lisbon to all the cities of Asia and Africa, and to all the islands which belonged to the crown of Portugal, and they all with one accord expelled the Spanish governors. All that part of the Brazils which had not been taken from the Spaniards by the Dutch, returned under the Portuguese dominion; and at length the Dutch made a league with the new king, don John of Braganza, and restored to him what they had taken from the Spaniards in the Brazils.

The Azores islands, Mosambique, Goa, and Macao, were animated with the same spirit as Lisbon. It seemed as if the conspiracy had been previously concerted in all these towns. It every where appeared how disagreeable a foreign ruler is, and at the same time how badly the Spanish ministry had provided for the preservation of so many states.

It was likewise seen how kings are flattered in their misfortunes, and how carefully disagreeable truths are disguised to them. The manner in which Olivarez acquainted Philip IV. with the loss of Portugal is famous. "I
come

come to bring your majesty good news, said that artful minister: all the duke of Braganza's estates are fallen to you; he has taken it into his head to have himself declared king, and by his crime your majesty is intitled to the confiscation of all his estates." This confiscation however did not take place: Portugal became a considerable kingdom, especially when by the riches of Brazil, and its treaties with England, it established a flourishing trade.

The count-duke Olivarez, master of the Spanish monarchy, and rival to cardinal de Richelieu, was at length disgraced for having been unsuccessful. These two ministers had long been alike kings, the one in France and the other in Spain; both had the royal family, the grandees of the kingdom, and the people, their enemies; they were both very different in their characters, their virtues, and their vices. The count-duke was as reserved, mild, and gentle, as the cardinal was lively, haughty, and cruel. It was Richelieu's activity which continued him in the administration, and gave him almost always the ascendant over Olivarez. The Spanish minister lost every thing by his negligence. He died the death of all disgraced ministers: it is said that vexation kills them; but it is not so much the vexation of being left in solitude, after the hurry they have been accustomed to, as the vexation of knowing that they are hated, and cannot revenge themselves. Cardinal Richelieu shortened his days in a different manner, by the uneasinesses with which he was devoured in the fullness of his power.

After

After all the losses that the Spanish branch of the house of Austria had sustained, it still retained more dominions than the kingdom of Spain now possesses. The dutchy of Milan, Flanders, Naples, and Sicily, belonged to that monarchy; and notwithstanding the badness of its administration, it continued to give great uneasiness to France, till the peace of the Pyrenees.

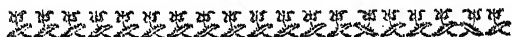
From the time of Philip II. to Philip IV. the Spaniards were famous for the arts of genius. Their stage, imperfect as it was, was still superior to that of other nations, and served as a model for the English theatre: and afterwards, when tragedy began to appear with some degree of lustre in France, it borrowed a great deal from the Spanish stage. History, pleasing romances, ingenious fictions, and morality, were carried to a still greater perfection in Spain than the drama; but sound philosophy was always unknown to them. The inquisition and superstition perpetuated the errors of the schools. The mathematics were very little cultivated, and the Spaniards almost always employed Italian engineers in their wars. They had some painters of the second rank, but never any school for painting. Architecture did not make any considerable progress among them. The escorial was built after a Frenchman's design. The mechanical arts were still in a very rude state. The magnificence of the noblemen consisted in great heaps of silver plate, and a number of servants.

There was an ostentatious kind of generosity practised in the houses of the grandees, which deceived strangers, and was the custom no where
but

but in Spain; this was to distribute all the money won at play among the by-standers of whatsoever condition. Montresor relates that when the duke of Lerma received Gaston, brother to Lewis XIII. and his retinue in the Low Countries, he displayed a still more extraordinary kind of magnificence. This minister, at whose house Gaston remained for several days, caused two thousand louis d'ors to be laid every day upon a large gaming table for the princes retinue and himself likewise to divert themselves at play.

The entertainments of bull-fighting were very frequent, as they still are; this was a most magnificent and gallant spectacle, and at the same time the most cruel. At the same time there was a total want of the conveniences of life. The want of these conveniences was greatly increased after the expulsion of the Moors. Hence it comes to pass, that you travel in Spain as you would in the deserts of Arabia, and that the towns are destitute of every kind of conveniency. Society was as little improved as the handicraft arts. The women, who were almost as closely confined as those in Africa, comparing this slavery with the liberty enjoyed by those of their sex in France, became doubly miserable. This restraint brought to perfection an art unknown to us, that of discoursing with the fingers. In this manner only did a lover explain himself under his mistress's window, who at the same time opened one of those little window grates called Jealousies, which supplied the place of senses, and answered him in the same language. Every one played upon the guittar, and yet it did not

enliven the general gloom that was spread over the face of the whole country. The practice of religious duties supply the place of other occupations among the common people, who were all unemployed. It was said then that pride, devotion, love, and idleness, composed the character of the Spanish nation; but at the same time there were none of those bloody revolutions, conspiracies, and cruel punishments, which were so frequent in the other courts of Europe. Neither the duke of Lerma nor the count Olivarez shed the blood of their enemies on the scaffold: their kings were not assassinated there as in France; nor did they fall, as in England, by the hand of the executioner.



CHAP. CXLVIII.

Of the GERMANS, under the Emperors RODOLPH II. MATTHIAS, and FERDINAND II. Of the Misfortunes of the Elector Palatine FREDERICK. Of the Conquests of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. Of the Peace of WESTPHALIA, &c.

WHILE France was recovering new life under Henry IV. that England flourished under its Elizabeth, and Spain was the preponderating power in Europe under Philip II. Germany and the North did not make so great a figure.

If we consider Germany as the seat of the empire, that empire was but an empty name; and

and it may be observed, that from the abdication of the emperor Charles V. till the reign of Leopold, it never had any credit in Italy. The coronations at Rome and Milan were suppressed, as useless ceremonies, which had before been looked upon as essential: but after that Ferdinand I. the brother and successor of Charles V. had neglected to make the journey to Rome, it began to be thought of no consequence. The pretensions of the emperors upon Rome, and that of the popes to the bestowing the imperial dignity, fell insensibly into oblivion; all was confined to a letter of congratulation, which the supreme pontiff writes to the emperor elect. Germany still retained the title of empire, tho' weak, as being always a prey to divisions. It was in fact a republic of princes, of which the emperor was chief; and these princes, having all pretensions upon one another, were almost always engaged in a civil war, either private or public, which was continually fed by their contrary interests, and by the three different religions then in Germany, which were still more contrary than the interests of the princes.

It was impossible that this vast state, divided into so many detached principalities, destitute of trade at that time, and consequently of riches, could have much influence on the system of Europe. It was not strong without doors, but it was within, because it was always an industrious and warlike nation. Had the Germanic constitution fallen to decay, had the Turks invaded one part of Germany, and the other had called in foreign masters, politicians would not have failed to declare, that Germany, already torn in pieces by intestine divisions,

sions, could not subsist any longer, and would have demonstrated that the peculiar form of its government, the great number of its princes, and the plurality of religions, had necessarily prepared the way to ruin and inevitable slavery. The causes of the decline of the ancient Roman empire were not near so obvious, and yet the Germanic body has remained unshaken, while it carried in its bosom every thing that appeared most likely to overturn it; and it is difficult to ascribe this permanence of constitution to any other cause than the genius of the nation.

Germany had lost Metz, Toul, and Verdun, in 1552, during the reign of Charles V. but this territory, which belonged to ancient France, might be considered rather as an excrescence of the Germanic body, than a natural part of the state. Ferdinand I. nor his successors had made the least attempt to recover those towns. The emperors of the house of Austria, after they became kings of Hungary, had always the Turk to fear, and were not in a condition to disturb France, weak as she was, from the time of Francis II. to Henry IV. The princes of Germany might plunder her, while the Germanic body could not assemble all its forces to destroy her.

Ferdinand I. in vain endeavoured to reconcile the three religions which divided the empire, and to unite the princes, who were frequently at war with each other. The old maxim, "Divide to reign," by no means suited him: Germany must be united before he could be powerful; but it was so far from being in a state of union, that it was dismembered. It

was

was precisely in his reign that the Teutonic knights gave the Poles Livonia, which was reputed a province of the empire, and which at present is in the possession of the Russians. The making all the bishoprics in Brandenburg and Saxony secular, was not a dismembering of the state, but only a great change, which made those princes more powerful, and the emperor weaker.

Maximilian II. was still less the sovereign than Ferdinand I. Had the empire preserved any remains of its vigour, he would have supported his right to the Netherlands, which were undoubtedly a province of the empire, and of which the emperor and the diet were the proper judges. These people therefore, who had so long been called rebels, ought to have been put by the laws under the ban of the empire; and yet Maximilian suffered the prince of Orange, William the Silent, to carry on the war in the Netherlands, at the head of German troops, without interfering in the quarrel. This emperor in vain caused himself to be elected king of Poland, in the year 1575, after the departure of Henry III. which was looked upon as an abdication; for Batteri, the vaivode of Transilvania, and the emperor's own vassal, carried it before his sovereign; and the Ottoman court, under whose protection Batteri then was, proved more powerful than the court of Vienna.

Rodolph II. who succeeded his father Maximilian II. held the reins of the empire with a still feebler hand. He was at the same time emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary, but he had no influence either in Bohemia,
Hun-

Hungary, or Germany, and still less in Italy. Rodolph's reign seems to prove that there is no general rule in politics.

This prince was esteemed more incapable of governing than even Henry III. of France. Henry's conduct cost him his life, and almost occasioned the loss of the kingdom. Rodolph's conduct, tho' much weaker, caused not the least trouble in Germany. The reason is, that in France all the nobles wanted to establish their own power upon the ruins of the throne, and that the German princes were already all of them established.

There are times which absolutely require the prince to be a warrior; Rodolph, who was not such, saw his kingdom of Hungary over-run by the Turks. Germany was at that time so badly governed, that they were obliged to go a begging to raise money for opposing the Ottoman conquests. Begging-boxes were fixed up at the doors of all the churches. This was the first war that had been carried on by charity: it was looked upon as a kind of holy war, but it was not the more successful on that account; and had it not been for the troubles in the *seraglio*, it is probable that Hungary would have remained for ever in the hands of the *Porte*.

Exactly the same thing happened in Germany under this emperor, which had lately been seen in France under Henry III. a catholic league in opposition to a protestant one, without the sovereign having it in his power to put a stop to the proceedings of either. Religion, which had long been the cause of so many troubles in the empire, was now only the pretext. The affair in question was the succession

sion of the dutchies of Cleves and Juliers ; this was another consequence of the feudal government, and there was no other way of deciding the possession of these fiefs but by arms. The houses of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Neuburg, disputed for them. The archduke Leopold, the emperor's cousin, had taken possession of Cleves till the affair should be decided. This dispute, as we have already seen, was the sole cause of the death of Henry IV. He was preparing to march to the assistance of the protestant leaguers, at the head of a well disciplined army, attended by the greatest generals of the age, and the best ministers in Europe ; this victorious prince was ready to take advantage of the weakness of Rodolph and Philip III.

The death of Henry IV. which rendered this great enterprize abortive, did not make Rodolph more happy. He had ceded Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, to his brother Matthias, at the time the king of France was preparing to march against him ; and even when he was delivered from so formidable an enemy, he was still obliged to yield Bohemia to this Matthias, and lead a private life, though with the title of emperor.

Every thing in his empire was done without him ; he did not even interfere in the extraordinary affair of Gerhard de Truchses, elector of Cologne, who wanted to keep his archbishopric and his wife at the same time, and who was driven from his electorate by force of arms, by his own canons, and the person who was his competitor. This extraordinary apathy to public affairs arose from a principle still more extraordinary in an emperor ; the study of philosophy,

lofophy, to which he was particularly addicted, had taught him every thing which he could know at that time, except to difcharge the duties of a fovereign. He preferred inftructing himfelf in aftronomy under the famous Tycho Brahe, to governing the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia.

The famous aftronomical tables of Tycho Brahe and Kepler bear the name of this emperor, being called the Rodolphine tables, as thofe which were formed in the twelfth century in Spain, by two Arabians, bore the name of king Alphonfo. The Germans principally diftinguifhed themfelves in this century by the beginnings of true natural philofophy. They had never fucceeded in the liberal arts like the Italians; indeed they never applied themfelves to them. The gift of invention in the natural fciences belongs only to thofe of an unwearied and induftrious difpofition; and the Germans had for a long time been remarkable for this kind of genius, which had communicated itfelf to their northern neighbours. Tycho Brahe was a native of Denmark. It was no fmall matter of furprize, efpecially at that time, to fee a private gentleman of Denmark expend one hundred thoufand crowns of his own fortune, in building, with the affiftance of Frederick II. king of that country, not only an obfervatory, but a fmall town inhabited by learned men, to which he gave the name of Uranibourg*, or the Starry City. Tycho
Brahe

* Uranibourg would be better translated Heavenburgh, for *Obergard*; fignifies *celeftial*, not *aftron.* Tycho Brahe was a ftrange compofition of learning and fuperftition, of good

Brahe had indeed the weakness to give into judicial astrology; but he was no less the good astronomer and the skilful mechanic. He had the fate of most great men: he was persecuted by his own countrymen after the king his protector was dead; but he found another in the emperor Rodolph, who made him amends for all his losses, and the injustice of courts.

Copernicus had discovered the true system of the world before Tycho Brahe had invented his, which is at best but an ingenious thought. This ray of science, which now enlightens the world, came first from the little town of Thorn, in Polish Prussia, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

sense and absurdity. He lost his nose in a nocturnal squabble at Rostock, and is said to have made and fitted on an artificial one so dextrously, that it could not be perceived. He was not only a mathematician and mechanic, but a chymist, an alchymist, a physician, and poet. By his system the earth is placed immoveable, as a center, round which the sun and moon perform their revolutions. He supposes the earth also to be the center of the primum mobile; and the sun to be the center of motion to the planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Having rejected the diurnal rotation of the earth upon its axis, he was obliged to retain the most absurd part of the Ptolemaic system, and to suppose the whole universe, to its farthest extent, was carried by the primum mobile about the axis of the earth every day. Notwithstanding these errors, his labours were of great service to astronomy. He discovered the refraction of the air, and determined the places of a great number of the fixed stars, with an accuracy unknown to former astronomers. He demonstrated that comets were higher than the moon, from their having a very small parallax: he discovered what is called the variation in the moon's motion; and from his series of observations on the other planets, the disorder of their motions were afterwards corrected and improved.

Kepler

Kepler*, who was a native of the dutchy of Wirtemberg, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, found out the mathematical laws of the course of the stars, and was looked upon as a law-giver in astronomy. Chancellor Bacon at that time proposed some new sciences; but Copernicus and Kepler invented them. Never had greater efforts been made in the most learned ages of antiquity, nor had Greece been adorned with more noble discoveries; but the other arts flourished at the same time in Greece; whereas in Germany natural philosophy alone was cultivated, and that only by a few learned men, unknown to the multitude, who still continued in ignorance. There were whole provinces where the people had hardly the gift of thinking, and knew only how to hate each other on account of religion.

At length the two leagues, catholic and protestant, plunged Germany into a civil war of thirty years, which reduced it to a more deplo-

* This philosopher discovered the true figures of the orbits, and the proportions of the motions of the solar system. He found that each planet moves in an ellipse, which has one of its foci in the center of the sun; that the motion of each is really unequal, varying in such a manner, that a ray supposed to be always drawn from the planet to the sun, describes equal areas in equal times. He discovered the analogy between the distances of several planets from the sun, and the periods in which they complete their revolutions. He perceived that the higher planets not only moved in greater circles, but also more slowly than those that are nearer: so that, on a double account, their periodic times were greater. Yet Kepler, with all his merit, was in some things a mere visionary, who gave into dreams of analogies and harmonies, endeavouring to find some relation between the dimensions of the five regular solids and the intervals of the planetary spheres.

able condition than that of France, before the peaceful and happy reign of Henry IV.

In the year 1619, the æra of the death of the emperor Matthias, who was Rodolph's successor, the empire was going to pass from the house of Austria; but Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, found means to unite the suffrages in his own favour. Maximilian of Bavaria, who was his competitor in the empire, yielded it to him; he even went farther, for he supported the imperial throne at the expence of his blood and treasures, and fixed the greatness of that house, which afterwards crushed his own. Two branches of the house of Bavaria, had they been united, might have changed the fate of Germany. These two branches were the elector palatine and the duke of Bavaria; but there were two powerful obstacles to their union, rivalry and a difference in religions. The elector-palatine, Frederick, was one of the most unfortunate princes of his time, and the cause of long and heavy misfortunes to Germany.

Notions of liberty never prevailed more strongly in Europe than at this time. Even Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, were as jealous of their privileges as the English themselves. This spirit had reigned in Germany ever since the time of Charles V. The example of the Seven United Provinces was continually present with these people, who pretended to the same rights, and thought themselves more powerful than those of Holland. When the emperor Matthias, in the year 1618, got his cousin Ferdinand de Gratz elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and made the other archdukes yield him

him Austria, the people of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, complained equally that sufficient regard had not been shewn to the privilege of states. Religion made a part of the grievances of the Bohemians, who then became furious. The protestants wanted to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the catholics; the council of state issued a declaration against the protestants; upon which these broke into the town-hall, and threw three of the principal magistrates out of the window into the street. This folly only shews the fury of the people, a fury which always exceeds the tyranny of which they complain. But what is very strange is, that the rebels pretended by a manifesto that they had only acted in pursuance to the laws, and that they had a right to break the necks of those ministers who went about to oppress them. Austria sided with the Bohemians, and it was in the midst of these troubles that Ferdinand de Gratz was elected emperor. 1618

His new dignity made no impression upon the protestants of Bohemia, who were at that time very considerable: they looked upon themselves as entitled to depose the king whom they had elected, and actually made a tender of the throne to Frederick, the elector-palatine, son-in-law to James I. of England*, who accepted, of it, tho' he had no forces to maintain himself on it. His relation, Maximilian of Bava-

* Their daughter, the princess Sophia, was grandmother to the late king George II. and dying in the reign of queen Anne, the succession to the throne of Great Britain devolved to her son George, elector of Hanover.

ria, with the imperial troops and his own, defeated him at Prague; and, together with that battle, made him lose his crown and palatinate.

This fatal day was the beginning of a thirty years slaughter. The victory of Prague determined for some time the ancient quarrel between the empire and the emperor, by making Ferdinand II despotic: he put the elector palatine under the ban of the empire by a private arrest of his aulic council, and proscribed all the princes and noblemen of his party, in defiance of the imperial articles, which could bind only the weakest side.

The elector-palatine fled into Silesia, Denmark, Holland, England, and France. This unfortunate prince always failed of success, and was deprived of every resource on which he depended. He met with no assistance from his father-in-law the king of England, who shut his ears to the cries of his nation, the solicitations of his son-in-law, and the protestant interest, of which he might have been the head. Lewis XIII. refused him aid, notwithstanding it was visibly his interest to prevent the princes of Germany from being oppressed. Lewis was not at that time under the direction of cardinal Richelieu. The palatine family and the protestant league were soon reduced to depend on no other assistance than that of two warriors, who were each at the head of a little vagabond army, like the Italian Condottieri: one of these was the prince of Brunswick, whose whole dominions consisted in the government, or rather usurpation of the bishopric of Halberstadt; and who took the title of "The Friend of God and

and the Enemy of the Priests;" which latter title he certainly deserved, since he subsisted entirely on plundering the churches: the other support of this already ruined party was a bastard-adventurer of the house of Mansfeldt, as well deserving the title of "Enemy of the Priests" as the duke of Brunsvick. These two defenders might very well contribute to ravage a part of Germany, but could never be of any service in restoring the palatine, or settling the equilibrium of princes.

The emperor, whose power in Germany was now confirmed, 1623
assembles a diet at Ratibon, in which he declares, "That the elector-palatine having been guilty of high treason, his estates, goods, and dignities were fallen to the imperial demerits; 1623
but that, not being willing to diminish the number of the electors, he wills, commands, and orders Maximilian of Bavaria to be invested with the electorate-palatine." He bestowed this investiture from his throne; his vice-chancellor declaring aloud, that the emperor conferred this dignity "By the plenitude of his power."

The protestant league, now on the point of being crushed, made fresh efforts to prevent its total ruin. It chose Christian IV. king of Denmark for its head; England supplied it with some money; but neither the money of the English, nor the troops of Denmark, nor yet the arms of Brunsvick or Mansfeldt, availed aught against the emperor, and only served to lay Germany waste. Ferdinand II. triumphed over all opposition by his two generals, the duke of Wallstein and count Tilly. The king of Denmark was always defeated at

the head of his armies ; and Ferdinand, without stirring from home, was victorious and all powerful.

He put the duke of Mecklenburg, one of the chiefs of the protestant association, under the ban of the empire, and gave his duchy to his general Walslein. He in like manner proscribed duke Charles of Mantua, for having, contrary to his orders, taken possession of the country which belonged to him by the right of inheritance. Mantua was taken and sacked by the imperial troops, who spread terror throughout all Italy. He began to tighten the ancient chain which had linked Italy to the empire, and which had been slackened for a considerable time. One hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, living at discretion in Germany, gave him absolute power. This power was exercised over a people then under very unhappy circumstances, as we may judge by the state of the coin at that time, the numerical value of which was four times greater than its original value, and was at the same time greatly adulterated. The duke of Walslein declared publicly, that the time was at length come for reducing the electors to the condition of the dukes and peers of France, and the bishops to that of chaplains to the emperor. This was the Walslein who afterwards aimed at becoming independent, and who had endeavoured to pull down his superiors, only to rise upon their ruin.

But the use which Ferdinand II. made of his good fortune and power, was what destroyed both the one and the other. He pretended to interpose his authority in the affairs of Sweden and Poland,

Poland, and to oppose Gustavus Adolphus, who was supporting the pretensions of his family against Sigismund king of Poland, this emperor's relation; and he himself paved the way to his own ruin, by forcing this young prince to invade Germany, and by reducing the protestants to despair.

Ferdinand II. thought himself with reason powerful enough to break the peace of Passau, made by Charles V. and to order, by his sole authority, all the princes and great lords to restore the bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices which they had gotten possession of. This edict was a greater stretch of power than that by which the edict of Nantz was revoked under Lewis XIV. These two similar attempts were attended with very different success. Gustavus Adolphus, being invited by the protestant princes, whom the king of Denmark no longer dared to assist, entered Germany to revenge them and himself.

The emperor wanted to re-establish the church, that he might be its master, and cardinal Richelieu opposed him in his design; even the court of Rome joined against him, the fear of his power being greater than their regard to the interests of religion. It was no more extraordinary that the most Christian king's minister, and even the court of Rome itself, should engage in the support of the protestant cause, against a formidable emperor, than it had been to see Francis I. and Henry II. in alliance with the Turks against Charles V.

When one man has done many great things, we are fond of ascribing all to him. It is a common but mistaken notion in France, that

cardinal Richelieu was the only person who caused Gustavus to turn his arms upon Germany, and that the revolution there was entirely owing to his schemes; but it is evident that he did nothing more than take advantage of conjunctures. Ferdinand II. had in fact declared war against Gustavus; he attempted to seize upon Livonia, which that young conqueror had made himself master of; he supported Sigismund, who was his competitor in the kingdom of Sweden, and he refused him the title of king. Interest, revenge, and pride*, called Gustavus into Germany; and even if the French ministry had not assisted him with money, when in Pomerania, he would still have tried the fortune of arms, in a war that was already begun.

1631 He was victorious in Pomerania, at the time France made its treaty with him. The single payment of three hundred thousand crowns, and an allowance of one million two hundred thousand franks *per ann.* was neither an important object, a great effort in politics, nor a sufficient succour. Gustavus did every thing by himself. Having entered Germany with less than fifteen thousand men, his number soon encreased to forty thousand, by raising recruits in a country that furnished subsistence for them, and by making Germany itself contribute to his conquests in Germany. He obliges the elector of Brandenburg to re-

* Our author might have added the solicitations and subsidies of Charles I. king of England, who being anxious for the restoration of the palatine, not only assisted him with money, but also with a great number of excellent officers, and six thousand men from Scotland, under the command of the Marquis of Hamilton.

cure to him the fortrefs of Spandau and all the paffes, and compels the elector of Saxony to give him the command of his own troops.

He totally defeats the imperial army commanded by count Tilly, before the gates of Leipfick, and reduces all the places from the banks of the Elb to the Rhine. He prefently reftitutes the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions at one end of Germany, and almoft at the fame instant he appears at the other end, in the Palatinate, after taking the city of Mentz in his march.

The emperor, who remained all this time motionlefs in Vienna, and faw himfelf, in lefs than one campaign, fallen from that greatness which had been fo formidable, was now obliged to follicit pope Urban VIII. for a fupply of men and money, who refufed him both the one and the other. He then endeavoured to engage the court of Rome to publifh a crusade againft Gustavus. Inftead of a crusade, the holy father promifes a jubilee. Gustavus in the mean time marches victorious through all Germany, and brings the elector-palatine to Munich, who had at leaft the confolation of being in the palace of him who had depofed him. This unfortunate prince was now on the point of being reftored to his palatinate, and even to the crown of Bohemia, by the hand of the conqueror, when in the fecond battle, near Leipfic, fought in the plains of Lutzen, Gustavus was fain* in the

Sept. 17.

1631

Nov. 6,

1632

* The manner of his death is differently related by different hiftorians. Puffendorf imputes it to the treachery

midst of victories. His death proved fatal to the palatine, who being at that time ill, and despairing of any farther resource, put an end to his unhappy life*.

Let those who enquire how the swarms of barbarians, which formerly came out of the North, conquered the Roman empire, cast their eyes upon what was performed by Gustavus in the space of two years, against a more warlike people than the Romans were at that time, and they will be no longer astonished.

It is a circumstance well worthy of attention, that neither the death of Gustavus, nor the minority of his daughter Christina, queen of Sweden, nor the bloody defeat which the Swedes sustained at Nortlingen, prejudiced these conquests. It was then that the French ministry played the principal part in the affairs of Germany; it gave laws to the Swedes and the protestant princes of Germany, at the same time that it supported them; and this first gained the king of France Alsace, at the expence of the house of Austria.

Gustavus Adolphus had left behind him very great generals, who were formed by himself; this has happened to almost all conquerors. These generals were seconded by a hero of the house of Saxony, duke Bernard of Weimar, a descendant of the ancient electoral branch, which had been deprived of their dominions by Charles V. who yet breathed revenge

of Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg: but the truth is, he happened in reconnoitring with two equerries, to fall among a party of imperial Cuirassiers, by whom he was slain, after having made a desperate defence.

* The palatine did not make away with himself; but died of a fever, occasioned by grief,

against

against the house of Austria. This prince had nothing to depend upon but a small army which he had raised in the troublesome times, and disciplined himself, and whose swords were their only support. This army, as well as that of the Swedes, was then paid by the French. The emperor, who never stirred out of his closet, had no great general left to oppose to them; he had deprived himself of the only person who was capable of restoring the glory of his arms and throne; he was fearful that the famous duke Walstein, to whom he had given an unlimited power over his armies, should make use of so dangerous a power against him, and caused that general, who Feb. 3. 1634 aimed at independency, to be assassinated*.

In this way did Ferdinand I. rid himself of cardinal Martinusius, who was grown too powerful in Hungary; and Henry III. in like manner caused the cardinal and the duke of Guise to be murdered.

Had Ferdinand II. commanded his troops in person, as he ought to have done in such a critical conjuncture, he would not have had occasion to employ this weak revenge, which he thought necessary, and which after all did not make him more happy.

Never was Germany more completely humbled than at this time: a Swedish chancellor

* Albert Winceslaus Eusebius, count of Walstein, duke of Mecklenbourg, Friedland, Segau, and Glogau, was assassinated at Egra, by three imperial officers, Leely, Gordon, and Butler, the two first Scots, and the other an Irishman. The duke and his friends were first regaled at sup per, and then perfidiously murdered by these infamous tools of arbitrary power.

ruled in that empire, and kept all protestant princes in subjection. This was the famous Oxenstiern, who, animated in the beginning with the spirit of his master Gustavus, would not suffer the French to share the fruits of that prince's conquests; but, after the battle of Nortlingen, he was obliged to intreat the French minister to deign to take possession of Alsace, under the title of its protector. Richelieu promised Alsace to Bernard of Weimar, and at the same time did all in his power to secure it to France. Hitherto the French ministry had temporised and acted underhand; but now it pulled off the mask, and declared war against the two branches of the house of Austria, who were both of them weakened in Spain and Germany. Such was the issue of this thirty years war. France, Sweden, Holland, and Savoy, attacked the house of Austria at the same time, and the real system of Henry IV. was now followed.

Feb. 15. Ferdinand II. died under these un-
 1637 happy circumstances, at the age of
 fifty-nine, after a reign of eighteen
 years, constantly disturbed with foreign or domestic wars, and having never fought but from his cabinet. He was very unhappy, because in the midst of his successes he thought himself obliged to exercise acts of cruelty, and afterwards he experienced a great reverse. Germany was still more unhappy than himself; ravaged alternately by its own inhabitants, by the Swedes, and by the French; a prey to famine and want, and over-run with barbarism, the inevitable consequence of a long and unsuccessful war.

This

This emperor has been praised as a great prince, and yet Germany was never so miserable as under his government. It was comparatively happy under that Rodelph who is so generally despised.

Ferdinand II. left the empire to his son Ferdinand III. who was already king of the Romans; but he left only a dismembered empire, of which France and Sweden shared the spoils.

During the reign of Ferdinand III. the Austrian power daily declined. The Swedes, who had settled in Germany, remained there; France, joined with them, still continued to assist the protestant party with money and arms; and, though she herself was embarrassed with an unsuccessful war against Spain, and her ministry had frequently conspiracies or civil wars to suppress, nevertheless she triumphed over the empire, as a wounded man, with a little assistance, overcomes his enemy who is deeper wounded than himself. Duke Bernard of Weimar, the descendant of the unfortunate duke of Saxony, who had been dispossessed by Charles V. revenged the sufferings of his family on the house of Austria. He had been one of Gustavus's generals, who to a man maintained the glory of Sweden after their master's death; and he was the most fatal of all of them to the emperor. At first indeed he lost the great battle of Nortlingen; but afterwards, having with French money got together an army who acknowledged no other master than himself, in less than four months he gained four battles against the Imperialists. He had even thoughts of raising a sovereignty to himself along the borders

ders of the Rhine. The court of France had guarantied Allace to him by treaty.

1639 This new conqueror died at the age of thirty-five, and bequeathed his army to his brothers, as a person bequeaths an estate. But France, who had more money than Weimar's brothers, bought this army, and carried on its conquests for herself. The marshal de Guebriant, the viscount of Turenne, and the duke of Anguien, afterwards the great Condé, finished what the duke of Weimar had begun. The Swedish generals, Bannier and Torstenson, pressed Austria on one side, while Turenne and Condé attacked it on the other.

1648 Ferdinand III. wearied out with so many shocks, was at length obliged to conclude the peace of Westphalia. By this famous treaty the French and the Swedes gave laws to Germany in politics and religion. The dispute between the emperors and the princes of the empire, which had lasted for above seven hundred years, was at length happily terminated.

Germany was a great aristocracy, composed of a king, electors, princes, and imperial cities. This empire which was already almost exhausted, was obliged moreover to pay six millions of rix-dollars to the Swedes, who had ravaged it and made it sue for peace. The kings of Sweden became princes of the empire, by the cession made to them of the finest provinces of Pomerania, Stettin, Wismar, Rugen, Verden, Bremen, and several other very considerable territories. The king of France became landgrave

grave of Alsace, without being a prince of the empire.

The Palatine family was at length restored to all its rights, excepting in the Upper Palatinate, which continued with the branch of Bavaria. The claims of the meanest private gentleman were discussed before the plenipotentiaries, as in a supreme court of justice. There were an hundred and forty decrees of restitution ordered, all which were complied with. The three religions, the Roman catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist, were equally tolerated. The imperial chamber was composed of twenty-four protestant, and twenty-six catholic members; and the emperor was even obliged to receive six protestants into his aulic council at Vienna.

Had it not been for this peace, Germany would have become what it had been under the descendants of Charlemagne, an almost savage country. All the towns from Silesia to the Rhine were ruined, the lands lay fallow, and the villages uninhabited. The city of Magdeburg, which had been burnt to the ground by count Tilly *, was not yet rebuilt. The trade
of

* John Tzerclaes, count de Tilly, was one of the greatest captains of the age in which he lived. He distinguished himself in a particular manner at the battle of Prague; he defeated Mansfeldt near Elbogen; routed the margrave of Baden at Wimpfen; gave Mansfeldt a second overthrow in the neighbourhood of Darmstadt; gained a complete victory over the duke of Halberstadt at Starlo, and defeated the army of Denmark at Lutter, in the dutchy of Brunswick. He took a great number of towns, and proceeded with equal rapidity and success, till the year 1631, when he was overthrown in a pitched battle at Leipzig, by Gustavus Adolphus king

of Augsburg and Nuremburg was entirely destroyed. There were no manufactories in the empire but those of iron and steel ; money was extremely scarce ; all the conveniencies of life were unknown ; the manners were affected by the harshness which thirty years civil war had infused into all minds. In short, it has required an age to supply Germany with all that it wanted. The French refugees were the first who introduced this improvement, and no country has profited so much as Germany by the revoking the edict of Nantz. Every thing else has been brought about of itself, or by time. The arts have spread themselves from place to place ; and Germany is at length become as flourishing as Italy was in the sixteenth century, when so many princes vied with each other in the splendor and politeness of their courts.

king of Sweden. He reassembled and recruited his forces, and gained some advantages over count Horn ; but next year, at the passage of the Lech, he was mortally wounded, and died at Ingolstadt, unmarried. It is remarked of this great man, that he never drank wine, and never knew woman.

C H A P. CXLIX.

OF ENGLAND till the Year 1641.

AS the Spanish monarchy grew weak after Philip II. and France fell to decay and confusion after the reign of Henry IV. till restored again by the great successes of cardinal de Richelieu, so did the kingdom of England droop for a long time after the reign of Elizabeth. Her successor, James I. ought to have had more influence in Europe than herself, as having joined the crown of Scotland to that of England, and yet his reign was far less glorious.

It is to be observed that the laws of succession in England had not that incontestable sanction and force which they had in France and Spain. They reckon among James's chief rights, the will made by Elizabeth *, in which she calls him to the succession; and James himself was in continual apprehension, lest he should not be named in the will of a queen so beloved and respected by her people, who would necessarily be determined by her last desires.

* Queen Elizabeth never made a will, and constantly refused to name her successor. After she was deprived of the use of speech, the noblemen of her council desired she would give some token of her approving James as her successor, and she laid her hand upon her head as a mark of approbation: but if she had made no such sign, the succession was already so settled, that the crown would have quietly devolved to the king of Scotland.

Notwithstanding his great obligation to Elizabeth's will, he did not put on mourning for the murderess of his mother. As soon as he was acknowledged king, he looked upon himself as such by divine right, and for that reason assumed the title of "Sacred Majesty." This was the first foundation of the nation's discontent, and of the unparalleled misfortunes of his son and his posterity †.

In the first part, which was the most peaceable of his reign, there was formed one of the most horrid conspiracies that ever entered into the human imagination: all the other plans which revenge, politics, or the barbarity of civil wars, and even fanaticism itself had produced, were not to compare in blackness to the powder plot. The English Roman catholics expected greater concessions from the king than he chose to grant them. Some of them, more outrageous than the rest, and possessed with that gloomy melancholy which engenders the greatest crimes, had resolved to restore their religion in England, by extirpating at one blow the king, the royal family, and all the peers of the kingdom. One Piercy, of the Northumberland family, Robert Catesby, and others, contrived a scheme to place thirty-six barrels of gunpowder

† This trifling cause is by no means adequate to the great effects it is supposed to have produced. The commons of England were by this time grown rich and powerful. They resolved to assert their independency, and vindicate their privileges in the face of the prerogative; and never could have found a better opportunity than this of struggling against a foreign prince who had no personal interest in the kingdom, and was besides ridiculous and absurd enough in his conduct, to weaken the authority of his crown.

under the house of lords, where the king was to make his speech to the parliament. Never was crime more Feb. 7, 1605
easy to be executed, nor attended with a more certain prospect of success. No one could have the least suspicion of so new a contrivance, nor could any thing happen to obstruct it. The thirty-six barrels of powder, which had been bought in Holland at different times, were placed ready immediately under the house of lords, in a coal-cellar, which Piercy had several months before hired for the purpose. They now waited only for the meeting of the parliament; and there was nothing to fear, unless the remorse of some one of the conspirators; but the two Jesuits, Garnet and Aldecorn, who were their confessors, had taken care to remove all scruples of conscience. Piercy, who could without pity be the instrument of destroying the king and all the nobility of the nation, felt an emotion of compassion for one of his friends, the lord Monteagle, who was a peer of the kingdom. This private attachment prevented the execution of the design. He wrote a letter to Monteagle*, in a feigned hand, advising him, "If he had any regard to his life, to be absent at the opening of the session, for God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. The danger, added the writer, will be past in as little time as you shall take to burn the letter."

* It does not appear that this letter was written by Piercy: but the notice was probably given by Tresham, one of the conspirators, who was related to the lady of the lord Monteagle.

Piercy was so secure, that he never imagined it possible for any one to guess that the whole parliament was to be blown up: however, the letter being read in the king's council, and no one being able to guess at the nature of the intended plot, of which there does not appear the least probable intimation, the king, after some few minutes reflection upon the short time that the danger was to last, fell upon the true design of the conspirators. Persons were sent by his orders the very night before the opening of the parliament to search the vaults and cellars under the house; there they found a man at the cellar-door, with a match in his hand, and a horse waiting for him; and upon searching they found the barrels of powder.

Piercy, and the chief of the conspirators, upon hearing of the discovery of their plot, had time to raise about an hundred catholic gentlemen, who all sold their lives dearly: only eight of the conspirators were taken and executed; amongst these were the two Jesuits. The king declared that they had suffered according to law; but their order declared them innocent, and made martyrs of them. Such was the spirit of the age in all those countries where the minds of mankind were blinded and led astray by religious disputes.

The gunpowder-plot was the only great instance of cruelty that the English gave the world during the reign of James I. Far from being a persecutor, that monarch openly embraced toleration, and even strongly censured the presbyterians, who taught at that time that

that hell was the infallible portion of every papist.

He governed in uninterrupted peace for the space of twenty-two years, during all which time trade flourished, and the people lived in plenty. Nevertheless his reign was contemptible both at home and abroad; abroad, because, as being the head of the protestant party in Europe, he neglected to support it against its catholic adversaries in the grand crisis of the Bohemian war, and abandoned his son-in-law the elector-palatine: he treated when he should have fought, and was a dupe at the same time to the courts of Vienna and Madrid; he was continually sending splendid ambassies, and never had an ally †.

His little share of credit among other nations contributed not a little to make him despised in his own. His authority in England had suffered great diminution from his attempts to give it too much weight and lustre; by continually telling his parliament, that God had made him absolute masters over them, and that all their privileges were derived from the favour and condescension of his predecessors. By these and such like speeches he put the parliament upon examining into the limits of the royal

† About this time there was a theatrical piece exhibited at Brudels, in which a courier was introduced declaring the melancholy tidings, that the palatinate would soon be wrested from the emperor; inasmuch as the king of Denmark had agreed to furnish the expelled elector with one hundred thousand pickled herrings; the Dutch had resolved to give him the like number of butter-boxes; and the king of England to employ one hundred thousand ambassadors,

prerogative, and the extent of the national rights; and from that time they endeavoured to set bounds which they did not well understand. The king's eloquence only tended to subject him to severe criticisms, and the world did not his learning all the justice he expected from it. Henry IV. never called him by any other name than *Master James*, and his own subjects did not bestow more gracious titles upon him. Accordingly he told his parliament in one of his speeches, "I have piped to you, and you have not danced; I have mourned to you, and you have not lamented." By thus subjecting his prerogative to be canvassed by idle speeches badly received, he hardly ever obtained the supplies he demanded. His bounties and necessities obliged him, like many other princes, to dispose of dignities and titles, which the vanity of mankind is always ready to purchase. He created two hundred baronets †, a species of nobility between a baron and a knight, to descend as an hereditary title. For this insignificant honour, each person paid two thousand pounds sterling. The only privilege enjoyed by these baronets was that of taking place of a knight: neither of them had a place in the house of peers; and this new distinction was very little regarded by the rest of the nation.

What chiefly alienated the affections of the English from him, was his giving himself en-

† He created only one hundred baronets by patents, obliging them to maintain a certain number of soldiers in Ireland; but this service was commuted for a sum of money. He likewise raised money by creating a certain number of knights of Nova Scotia, who purchased this distinction.

tirely up to favourites. Lewis XIII. Philip III. and James, were at one and the same time a prey to the same foible; and while the first was absolutely governed by Cadenet, whom he created duke of Luines, and the second by Sandoval, made duke of Lerma, James was wholly under the direction of a Scotchman, named Carr, whom he created earl of Somerset, and whom he afterwards left for George Villiers, as a woman leaves one lover for another.

This George Villiers is the same duke of Buckingham, who was at that time so celebrated in Europe for the beauty of his person, his amours, and his lofty pretensions. He was the first gentleman who had been made a duke in England, without being either a relation or an ally to the sovereign. It was one of the caprices of the human mind, that a king who wrote like a divine in controversial points, should give himself up, without reserve, to a hero of romance. Buckingham persuaded the prince of Wales, afterwards the unfortunate Charles I. to visit Spain in disguise, without any attendants, and go to Madrid to make love to the infanta, who was then proposed for a match to this young prince, offering to accompany him as his esquire in this knight errant expedition. James, who was called the English Solomon, agreed to this extraordinary project, in which he hazarded the safety of his son and heir.

The more he was obliged to manage the house of Austria, the less able he was to assist the protestant cause or his son-in-law the palatine.

To make this romantic adventure complete, the duke of Buckingham, who had fallen in

love with the dutchess of Olivarez, affronted the duke her husband, who was prime minister, broke off the match with the infanta, and brought the prince of Wales back again to England as suddenly as he had taken him away. He immediately set on foot a treaty of marriage between Charles and the princess Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. and sister to Lewis XIII. and though he behaved still more extravagantly in France than he had done in Spain, he succeeded in his negotiation. But James never recovered the credit he had lost with his people. His high-flown notions of the royal prerogative, and the divine right of kings with which he perpetually interlarded all his speeches, and which he never maintained by his actions, gave birth to a faction which afterwards overturned the throne, and disposed of it more than once, after having stained it with blood. This faction was that of the puritans, which partly subsists to this day, under the title of the whig party; and the opposite faction, which stood up for the church of England and the royal prerogative, has taken the name of tories. These mutual animosities inspired the nation from that time with a cruel, outrageous, and gloomy spirit, which nipped the arts and sciences in the bud, that were as yet hardly disclosed.

Some men of genius had, in the reign of Elizabeth, cultivated the field of literature, which till then had lain fallow in England. Shakespear, and after him Ben Johnson*, had polished the stage. Spencer had revived epic poetry: Bacon, who had more merit as a scholar than a chancellor, opened a new road to philosophy. The understandings of men began to be polished

* Johnson was cotemporary with Shakespear,

and improved. The disputes of the clergy, and the bickerings between the king and his parliament brought back the age of barbarism.

It was a matter of no small difficulty to ascertain the just bounds of the royal prerogative, the parliamentary privileges, and the liberties of the people, as well in England as Scotland, as likewise to settle those of the Episcopal authority in both kingdoms. Henry VIII. had broken down all the fences of the constitution; † Elizabeth, at her accession, found some that had been newly settled, which she lowered and raised with a happy dexterity. James I. wasted his time in disputing, and while he pretended to level them all, he left them all standing: however the nation, who was put upon its guard by his declarations, prepared to defend them in case of an attack. Charles I. soon after his accession, attempted to execute what his father had too frequently proposed, without having ever effected.

It was in England, as well as in Germany, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, in the power of the people to grant subsidies to the sovereign in the nature of a free and voluntary gift. Charles I. was desirous to assist his brother-in-law the elector-palatine, and the protestants against the emperor. His father James had at length entered upon the same design towards the latter part of his reign, when it was too late. Money was wanting to raise troops to send into the lower Palatinate, and for defraying other expences; it is this metal alone that

† He had not broken them down, but overleaped them occasionally,

confers power, since it has become the representative of all things. The king then demanded it as a debt, and the parliament would not grant it otherwise than a free gift; and before they would grant even this, insisted upon a redress of grievances. Were they to wait for a redress of grievances in every nation before they could procure supplies for raising troops, they would never be able to make war. Charles I. had been persuaded to this armament by his sister, the princess palatine: it was she who had forced her husband to accept the crown of Bohemia, who had for five years together vainly solicited the king her father for assistance, and at length obtained it after it had been so long deferred, through the interest and instigation of the duke of Buckingham. The parliament granted but a very inconsiderable supply. There had been some instances in England of kings, who not being willing to call a parliament, and being in need of money, had raised sums from private persons, by way of loan. This loan was extorted; those who lent their money usually lost it, and those who refused were imprisoned. These arbitrary methods had been practised on certain pressing occasions, where the prince was sufficiently powerful to exercise small arts of oppression with impunity. Charles made use of the same method, but with restrictions, and borrowed some few sums with which he equipped a fleet, and raised troops, which returned without doing any thing.

1626 A new parliament was now to be called. The house of commons, instead of assisting the king's necessities, impeached the duke of Buckingham, whose power and insolence disgusted the whole nation. Charles,

unable to bear the insult offered him in the person of his minister, committed two of the members *, who had been the most forward in accusing him, prisoners to the Tower. He did not, however, properly support this arbitrary act, which was indeed a direct violation of the laws; and his weakness in releasing the two members, emboldened those whom their imprisonment had irritated. He had also confined a peer of the kingdom †, on the same account, whom he likewise set at liberty in the same manner. This was not the way to procure supplies; accordingly, they would not grant him any. The extorted loans were therefore continued, and soldiers were quartered upon the houses of those burghers who were backward in their contributions. Such a conduct could not fail to alienate all minds from him. The general discontent was farther increased by the duke of Buckingham, who was returned from his disgraceful expedition to Rochelle.

A third parliament was convoked; but this was only assembling a number of exasperated subjects, who thought of nothing but restoring the national rights and the privileges of parliament. They began by voting that the habeas corpus act ‡, which was the guardian of their liberties, could not suffer encroachment;

* Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot.

† The earl of Arundel.

‡ The habeas corpus act was afterwards passed as an explanation of that article in Magna Charta, importing that no freeman shall be arrested or imprisoned, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by an express law of the land. On this occasion the commons voted that no subject should be imprisoned without cause shewn; and that the prisoner should enjoy the privilege of the habeas corpus, even though committed by order of the king and council.

that the billeting soldiers upon the houses of the burghers was a violation of the liberty and property of the subject ; and that no money could be raised by any other authority than act of parliament. The king, by being too obstinate in the support of his authority, and persisting in his demand of a supply, weakened the one, but did not obtain the other. The parliament was still bent upon bringing the duke of Buckingham to a trial. An Irish fanatic, whom the general hatred of this minister had inspired with a kind of patriot fury, assassinated him in his own house, and in the midst of his friends :

1628 this act sufficiently shewed the degree of fury which began to seize upon the nation. There was a trifling duty upon the importation and exportation of merchandize, called " Tunnage and poundage." The late king had always been in possession of this by act of parliament ; and Charles thought there was no occasion for a second act to enable him to collect it. Three merchants of London having refused to pay this small tax, the officers of the customs seized upon their effects. One of these merchants was a member of the house of commons. This house, who had its own liberties to defend in those of the people, commenced a suit against the king's officers ; the king, incensed at this behaviour, dissolved the parliament, and committed four members of the house prisoners to the Tower. These were the weak beginnings which produced the overthrow of the state, and stained the throne with blood.

These sources of the public calamity were farther encreased by a torrent of divisions in the church of Scotland. Charles resolved to perfect his designs, with respect to religion, as well

as the state. Episcopacy had not been abolished in Scotland, at the time of the reformation before Mary Stuart; but the protestant bishops had always been kept in subjection by the presbyterians. The Scotch people were governed by a kind of republic of priests, who were all upon an equality with each other. This was the only country in the world where riches and honours did not make the bishops powerful. They retained their seats in parliament, their honorary rights, and the revenues of their sees; but they were pastors without a flock, and peers without credit. The Scottish parliament, which was wholly composed of presbyterians, only suffered the bishops to retain their dignity, in order to debase them. The ancient abbeys were all in secular hands, who had a place in parliament, in virtue of the title of abbot. By degrees the number of these titular abbots were diminished. James I. restored episcopacy with all its privileges. The king of England was not acknowledged as head of the church of Scotland; but being born in that country, and having lavished English money in pensions and places to several of its members, he was more master at Edinburgh than in London. The presbyterian assembly still subsisted as before, notwithstanding the restoration of episcopacy. These two different bodies were always thwarting each other, and the synodic republic generally got the better of the episcopal monarchy. James, who looked upon the bishops as a body devoted to the throne, and the calvinistical presbyterians as enemies to the kingly dignity, thought that he should be able to reconcile his Scottish subjects to episcopal government, by introducing a new li-

turgy amongst them, and getting it received. This was no other than the church of England liturgy. His death prevented the accomplishment of this design, which his son Charles now reassumed, and determined to carry into execution.

This liturgy consisted in certain forms of prayer and ceremonies, and the use of a surplice to be worn by the priest when officiating. The
 1637 bishop of Edinburgh had no sooner begun to read the statutes enacting these several customs, than the populace rose in the utmost fury, and saluted him with a shower of stones. The presbyterians immediately entered into a covenant, as if all laws, divine and human, were about to be abolished: and the natural desire of the great to support their own schemes on one side, and the fury of popular opposition on the other, raised a civil war in Scotland.

It was not known at that time who fomented these disturbances, nor who it was that prepared the way for the tragical end of Charles I. It was Cardinal Richelieu. This despotic minister, who wanted to hinder Mary of Medicis from finding an asylum in England, and to engage Charles in the interests of France, had received a refusal from that monarch, rather more haughty than politic, which had exasperated him. There is a letter of the Cardinal's to the count d'Eftrades, at that time envoy from the court of France to England, in which are those remarkable words, which we have already mentioned: "The king and queen of England shall repent their having neglected my offers before a year is past, and shall quickly find that I am not to be despised."

He had an Irish priest, who was one of his secretaries; this man he sent to London and

Edinburgh, in order to sow dissensions among the presbyterians, partly by his rhetoric and partly by money; and the letter to d'Eftrades is another spring to this machine. In looking into the archives of all nations, we shall constantly find religion sacrificed to interest and revenge.

The Scots took up arms. Charles had recourse to the English clergy, and even to the catholics of the kingdom, who equally hated the presbyterians, and only furnished the king with money, because they looked upon this as a religious war. However, he had for some months an army of twenty thousand men; but they were of little service to him, except in forwarding his negociations with the malcontents, and afterwards, when this army was disbanded for want of pay, these negociations became more difficult. He was therefore obliged to have recourse again to war. History furnishes few examples of a greatness of soul equal to that of the noblemen who composed the king's privy council, who, on this occasion, contributed the greatest part of their fortunes for their master's service. The famous archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, and the marquis of Hamilton, signalized themselves in a particular manner by their contributions; and the famous earl of Strafford, alone, gave a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling; but these supplies not being nearly sufficient, the king was obliged to call another parliament.

The house of commons were so far from looking upon the Scots as enemies, that they considered them as brethren, who set them an example

for defending their own privileges; and the king received nothing from this parliament but the sharpest remonstrances against the methods he had employed to raise those supplies which they had refused to furnish him with. All the rights which the king had assumed to himself were declared abusive and oppressive; such as the duty of tunnage and poundage, ship-money, the sale of exclusive charters to the merchants, the billeting of soldiers on the citizens houses, and, in short, every thing which interfered with the liberties of the people. They likewise complained of a court of justice, called the Star Chamber, which had issued several severe decrees against the subject. Charles then dissolved this new parliament, which greatly increased the dissatisfaction of the nation.

It seemed as if Charles had studied to set all ranks of people against him; for instead of soothing the city of London in these delicate circumstances, he prosecuted it before the Star Chamber, for some lands in Ireland, and condemned it in a heavy fine. He continued to raise all the taxes, against which the parliament had so bitterly inveighed. Such a conduct in an absolute prince would have occasioned a revolt among his subjects, much more in a limited monarch. Ill supported by his subjects, and secretly disquieted by the intrigues of Cardinal Richelieu, he was not able to prevent the Scottish army from coming as far as Newcastle. Having thus paved the way to his future misfortunes, he convoked the parliament, 1640. which put the finishing hand to his ruin.

This session began, as all the rest had done, by craving redress of grievances, the abolition

of the Star Chamber, the suppression of arbitrary exactions, particularly that of ship-money, and concluded by desiring triennial parliaments. Charles, who had it no longer in his power to refuse, granted all their demands. He hoped to regain his lost authority by a little flexibility, but herein he was mistaken. He imagined that the parliament would assist him in taking vengeance upon the Scots for their irruption into England; and instead of that, this very parliament made them a present of three hundred thousand pounds sterling, to defray the expences they had been at in carrying on a civil war. He flattered himself likewise with suppressing the puritanical party in England; almost all the members of the house of commons were themselves puritans. He had a tender affection for the earl of Strafford, who had devoted himself so generously to his service; and the house of commons impeached this nobleman of high treason, purely on account of his attachment to his master. He was accused of divers misdemeanors inevitable in tumultuous times, but all committed for the king's service, and which had been effaced by the generous manner in which he had contributed to the relief of his necessities. However, he was condemned by his peers: but he could not be put to death without the king's consent. The mad populace cried aloud for the blood of this loyal nobleman. The earl carried his virtue to such a height, as to exhort the king to consent to his death; and the king was weak enough to sign this fatal act, which shewed his subjects the way to shed blood still more precious.

C H A P. CL:

Of the Misfortunes and Death of CHARLES I.

ENGLAND, Scotland, and Ireland, were at that time divided into violent factions, as well as France; but those of France were only the cabals of princes and noblemen against a prime minister, who oppressed them; whereas the parties which distracted Charles's kingdom, were the general convulsions of all minds, a violent and fixed desire of changing the constitution of the state, an ill-concerted scheme in the royalists to establish despotic power; a madness for liberty in the people; a thirst of power in the commons; an evil design in the bishops, to crush the puritanical or calvinistical party; and, in fine, the secret and closely-pursued plan of those people, called the independents, which consisted in making use of the errors and mistakes of others, in order to render themselves their masters.

Oa. In the midst of all these troubles, the
 1641 catholics of Ireland thought they had found the fairest opportunity of shaking off the English yoke; and religion and liberty, those two sources of the greatest actions, hurried them into a design, the horror of which could only be paralleled by that on the fatal day of St. Bartholomew. They plotted to rise throughout all the provinces on one day, and murder every protestant in the kingdom; and they actually massacred upwards of forty thousand.

land †. The king was at that time in Scotland, where he had but lately settled matters on a pacific footing, and the commons governed England. These Irish catholics, in excuse for this barbarous massacre, pretended to have received a commission from the king himself to take up arms; and Charles, who was soliciting assistance against them, both from his English and Scottish subjects, found himself accused of the crime he was endeavouring to punish. The Scottish parliament referred the business to the commons of England, alledging with justice, that Ireland depended upon England. The king, therefore, returned in haste to London. The house of commons thinking, or at least pretending to think, that he was concerned in the Irish rebellion, sent but very slender supplies of men and money to that kingdom; and at the same time presented a remonstrance to the king of the most virulent nature.

Among other things they desire “his majesty to employ in his council such persons only as should be nominated by them, and even threaten him to take other measures in case of a refusal.” The house of commons sent three of its members to present this remonstrance to the king, who delivered upon their knees a petition, which was no other than an open declaration of war against him. Oliver Cromwell, who was already a member of the house, declared, “that if the remonstrance did not pass in the

† Such is the computation of most historians; but the whole is a shocking exaggeration, derived from animosity and misapprehension: if we should read *four* instead of *forty* thousand, we should approach nearer the truth; and, we are afraid, it will be found difficult to prove that the catholics were the aggressors,

house, he would sell the little estate he had, and retire from England."

This speech proves that he was then an enthusiast for that liberty, which his ambition afterwards trampled upon.

Charles did not dare at that time to dissolve the parliament; or had he attempted it, they would not have obeyed him. There were several officers of the army formerly assembled in Scotland, who were the king's friends, and particularly attached to his person. He
1641 was likewise supported by the bishops and the few papist lords then in London: those who had before been engaged in the powder plot, to exterminate his whole family, were now wholly devoted to his interest, all the rest of the nation was against him. The populace, stirred up by the puritan party, filled the whole city with sedition, and assembling in a great multitude before the house of lords, exclaimed, "No bishops, no bishops." Twelve prelates, intimidated by these riotous proceedings, resolved to retire, and subscribed a protest against all laws, votes, and resolutions which should be made in their absence. The lords upon receiving this protest, committed them prisoners to the Tower; upon which the rest of the bishops soon afterwards withdrew from the house.

While the king's power was thus upon the decline, one of his favourites, the lord Digby, gave him the pernicious and fatal advice to support it by one vigorous stroke of authority. The king unhappily forgot that this was a conjuncture in which he ought not to expose it to any new affront, and went in person to the house

house of commons, to apprehend five members who had been the most violent against him, and whom he impeached of high treason. These five members had withdrawn from the house: the whole house exclaimed against this violation of its privileges. The king, like a bewildered person, who knows not whither to turn himself, went from the house to the Guildhall, to demand the assistance of the city. The common council, instead of complying with his desire, present a remonstrance against himself. He then returns to Windsor, and, in order to atone for the wrong step he had taken, and which he found himself incapable of supporting, sent a message to the commons, giving them to understand, that "he desisted from his prosecution of the five members, and that he would take as much care of the privileges of parliament as of his own life." The violence of his former conduct had rendered him odious to his parliament, and his present concessions made them despise him.

The commons began now to take the whole management of the kingdom into their own hands. The peers sit by their own right in parliament; this is the ancient privilege of the barons and feudal lords. The commons are in parliament as representatives for the cities and boroughs † who elect them. The people placed much greater confidence in these deputies, who were their representatives, than in the peers. These latter, to recover the credit they had lost with the people, adopted the general

† Not only the cities and boroughs, but the counties themselves are represented in the house of commons.

sentiments of the nation, and stood up for the authority of a parliament, of which they were originally the principal part.

During this confusion, the rebellion in Ireland triumphed over the weak opposition which had been made to it, and the insurgents, reeking with the blood of their countrymen, carried on their barbarities under the king's name, and that of the queen his consort; especially the latter, as she was a catholic. Both houses
1642 now propose to raise the militia; but at the same time insist that it shall be commanded by such officers only as they should nominate. According to law, nothing can be done, touching the militia, without the king's consent; and the parliament rightly supposed that he would never consent to sign an ordinance which made directly against himself. Accordingly the king withdrew, or rather fled from London, into the north of England. His queen, Henrietta of France, daughter to Henry IV. who possessed most of her royal father's qualities, and was active, intrepid, insinuating, and even amorous, heroically supported that husband in distress, to whom she had not been over faithful in his prosperity*. She sold her furniture and jewels, borrowed money in England and Holland, which she gave to her husband; and afterwards went in person to Holland, on pretence of accompanying her daughter, the princess

† We wish our author had been more explicit in this charge brought against the memory of a queen, whose character, in this respect, has not, to the best of our remembrance, been impeached upon any good authority.

Mary, to the prince of Orange her husband; but, in reality, to solicit succours from that state, in case of emergency. She negotiated likewise at the northern courts; in a word, she sought every where for assistance, except in her own country, where the Cardinal de Richelieu, her avowed enemy, and the king her brother, were both dying.

The civil war was not yet declared. The parliament had, by its own authority, appointed one Hotham governor of Hull, a small fortress on the sea-coast of York, and which had, for a long time, been a magazine for arms and ammunition. The king appears before the place and demands admittance; Hotham causes the gates to be shut; and retaining some small respect for his royal master, comes upon the ramparts, and on his knees asks pardon for being obliged to disobey him. He was afterwards opposed in a less respectful manner. The nation was now overspread with manifestoes from the king and parliament. Those noblemen who were in the king's interest † repair to him.

He

† As our author has asserted above, that all the people of the kingdom were enemies to the king, except some officers of the army, the bishops, the catholics, and those who had been engaged in the gunpowder plot; we shall rectify his mistake, by enumerating the principal persons who attended him at York, and declared in his favour. These were, lord Lyttleton, keeper of the seals; the marquis of Hertford, the duke of Richmond, the earls of Southampton, Devonshire, Clare, Monmouth, Carnarvon, Cumberland, Salisbury, Cambridge, Westmoreland, Rivers, Newport, Lindsey, Bath, Dorset, Northampton, Bristol, Berkshire, Dover; the lords Falkland, Newark, Rich, Coventry, Capel, Grey of Ruthven, Pawlet, Saville,

He sends to London for the great seal of the kingdom, without which it was supposed there could be no law enacted: however, the laws made by the parliament against him, were published, and obeyed as effectually as if they had had his sanction.

Charles set up the royal standard at Nottingham; but no one appeared except a few trained bands, and those not armed. At length, by the supplies he received from Holland, by means of the queen, the presents made him by the university of Oxford, who sent him all its plate, and with what the rest of his friends could furnish, he got together an army of about fourteen thousand men.

The parliament, who had all the money of the kingdom at their disposal, soon raised a much superior force. Charles published a declaration at the head of his army, in which he protested, that "he would live and die in the true protestant religion;" and that "he would maintain the laws of the realm, and even the privileges of that parliament which was in arms

ville, Dunsmore, Mowbray, Martravers, Howard of Charleton, Lovelace, Mohun, Seymour.---Many other noblemen were employed in the king's behalf, in different parts of the kingdom. A great number of the most powerful commons espoused his cause, which was also supported by the two universities. All in general, whose manners were polished, and whose minds were enlarged by a liberal education, adhered to the king. The opposite faction consisted of those whom the court had personally disoblged; of such as wanted to fish in troubled waters; of republicans and dissenters, comprehending a great number of corporations, manufacturers, and the lower class of people, inflamed with the spirit of fanaticism.

against

against him." His armies were commanded by prince Rupert, brother to the unfortunate elector palatine, Frederic*, a prince of great valour, and otherwise famous for his profound knowledge in natural philosophy, in which he made several useful discoveries.

The battles of Worcester and Edgehill, 1642 at first proved favourable to the royal cause, and the king proceeded within a short distance of London. The queen had brought him a supply of artillery, arms, and ammunition, from Holland. She immediately set out again in quest of new succours, with which she returned a few months afterwards. The parliamentarians were not, however, discouraged: they knew they had powerful resources; and though subdued, they still acted as masters, against whom the king had rebelled.

They condemned and executed for high treason, several subjects who had delivered up to the king his own towns; while the king, on his side, refrained from all reprisals on his prisoners. This alone may serve to justify, in the opinion of posterity, a prince who appeared so criminal in the eyes of his own subjects. Politicians, indeed, cannot forgive him for having wasted so much time in negotiating, when he should have taken advantage of his first success, and acted with alacrity and resolution, as the only means of putting an end to disputes of this nature.

† Prince Rupert was not the brother, but the son of Frederick, elector palatine, who married the sister of king Charles.

1643 Tho' Charles and prince Rupert were beaten at Newbury †, they still had the advantage of the campaign. The parliament continued stubborn and inflexible; and what is very extraordinary, an assembly of a few men conducted their designs with more steadiness and resolution, than a king at the head of his army.

The puritans having got the majority in both houses, at length threw aside the mask. They entered into a solemn league with Scotland, 1644 and signed the famous covenant, by which they mutually agreed to destroy episcopacy. It was plain, by this covenant, that the Scottish and English puritans wanted to erect themselves into a republic. This was ~~the~~ spirit of Calvinism, which had long been at work in France upon the same grand design: it succeeded in Holland, but in France and England this darling scheme of the people could not be effected, without shedding oceans of blood.

† The royalists were victorious at Hopton-heath, Reading, Thame, Stratton, Lansdown-hill, Roundway-downs, Bristol, and the affair at Newbury was a drawn battle, fought with great obstinacy, till night parted the combatants: next morning the earl of Essex, who commanded the parliamentarians, pursued his march to Reading, but his rear was severely handled by prince Rupert, at the head of the king's cavalry. The greatest damage the king sustained in the battle, was the loss of three worthy noblemen, the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, and the lord Falkland, who fell gallantly fighting for their sovereign. In the second battle at Newbury the king was attacked by a great superiority of numbers; notwithstanding which, he relieved Donnington castle, and retired unmolested to Oxford.

While

While the Presbyterians were thus arming England and Scotland, popery served on the other hand as a pretext with the Irish rebels, who still continued to oppose the troops sent against them by the parliament of England. The religious wars, under Lewis XIII. were still recent; and the invasion of Germany, by the Swedes, on the same account, was at its height. It was a deplorable circumstance that Christians should, for so many ages, have made use of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church, as means for drenching in blood all that part of Europe where they are settled*.

The rage of civil war was cherished by that gloomy and austere behaviour which was affected by the puritans. The parliament took this opportunity to order the book of sports, composed by king James I. to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. This book had been written by the king, to shew that it was lawful to use diversions on the Lord's day, after divine service was over. They thought by this action to do a service to religion, and an insult to the reigning prince. In the course of the same year, the parliament likewise ordered, that each family should deprive itself of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for carrying on the war.

We must not imagine that in any of the factions, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or even among the king's friends, or his

* The Roman catholics of Ireland complained of many other grievances than those of religion.

enemies, there were many of those designing spirits, who totally uninfluenced by the prejudices of party, only make use of the errors and fanaticism of others, in order to gain the mastery over them. This was not the genius of these nations. Almost every one was really of the party he embraced. Those who shifted sides, through some particular discontent, did it with an high hand. The independents were the only party who concealed their intentions, and this for two reasons; first, that as they were hardly looked upon as Christians, they might have given too much umbrage to the other sects; secondly, because they adopted certain enthusiastic notions, concerning the original state of equality among mankind; and that this leveling system must have hurt the ambition of the rest.

One of the strongest proofs of the inflexible sternness which had taken possession of all minds at that time, is the punishment of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who was condemned by the parliament, after having been four years in prison. The only crime which they could convict him of, with any shew of evidence, was the having made use of some of the ceremonies of the Romish church, at the consecration of a church in London. He was sentenced to be hanged, and his heart cut out and thrown in his face, the usual punishment for traitors; but the commons with difficulty indulged him with decapitation*.

Charles

† Archbishop Laud, when brought to trial, made such a vigorous defence, that the commons perceiving he could

Charles finding the parliaments of England and Scotland both united against him, and being hard pressed between their two armies, thought it necessary to conclude a truce with the Irish Roman catholics, in order to employ in his own service, part of the troops that served in Ireland against the rebels of that kingdom. This scheme succeeded, and he not only had a great number of the English from the army in Ireland, but also many of the Irish themselves, who came to increase his army. Upon this the parliament openly charge him with being the author of the rebellion in Ireland. Unfortunately these new troops, on which he had placed so much dependence, were entirely defeated by lord Fairfax, the parliament's general, and the king had 1644 only the grief of having furnished his enemies with a plausible pretext to accuse him as an accomplice with the Irish in their barbarities.

He now became more and more unfortunate; prince Rupert, after having long maintained the honour of the king's arms, is at length beaten near York, and his army totally dispersed by the earl of Manchester and 1644 lord Fairfax. Charles now retired to Oxford, where he was presently after besieged. The queen was then in France. The king's extreme

not be convicted in the common course of evidence, declared him guilty by an act of attainder. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houses. Being sentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned, that, as he was a priest, a bishop, a privy counsellor, and a peer of the realm, he might suffer decapitation: a request which the commons granted with difficulty.

danger

danger animates his friends to the exertion of their most powerful efforts. They oblige the enemy to raise the siege of Oxford. The king himself assembled a few troops, and at first met with some success; but this interval of good fortune proved of short duration. The parliament was still in a condition to send a superior army against him, and he is attacked by the generals Essex, Manchester, and Waller, at Newbury, on the road to Oxford. Cromwell was then a colonel in the parliament's army, and had already made himself remarkable, by several acts of extraordinary valour. It is said that at this battle of Newbury, the corps commanded by the earl of Manchester, having given way, and the earl himself being carried along with the rest in their precipitate flight, Cromwell, who was himself wounded, rode up to him and cried; "You are mistaken, my lord, the enemy are not this way;" and immediately

Oct. 27, brought him back to the charge:
1644 in a word, most writers agree that the fortune of this day was chiefly owing to Cromwell. This is certain, that Cromwell, who began to have as much influence in the house of commons as he had reputation in the army, publicly accused his general of not having done his duty.

The fondness of the English for all strange things, brought to light a new scheme of a most extraordinary nature, and which perfectly explained Cromwell's true character, and proved at once the source of his greatness, the downfall of the parliament and episcopacy, the murder of the king, and the abolition of monarchy.

The sect of independents began to make some noise. The most violent of the presbyterians had joined this sect, which resembled the quakers in condemning the ordination of ministers, and allowing every one to preach and expound the scriptures according to the talents he had received from nature; but they were at the same time as turbulent as the quakers were mild and peaceable. They gave a loose to the wildest imaginations: they had formed the extravagant scheme of levelling all distinctions among men; and, in order to establish the desired equality, they had recourse to force. Oliver Cromwell looked upon these people as fit instruments to be made use of in his designs.

The city of London, which was divided into several factions, complained bitterly that the parliament had loaded it with all the burthen of the war. Cromwell then got some of the independents to make a motion in the house for new-modelling the army, and to engage the members of both houses to resign all their civil and military offices. Almost all the profitable employes were in the hands of the members of one or the other house. The three generals of the parliament's army were peers; the major part of the colonels, majors, treasurers, purveyors, and commissioners of all kinds, were members of the lower house. Did it appear probable, that so many persons in power could be prevailed upon by the flattery of words, to resign their posts and incomes? and yet this was effected in a single session. The commons in particular were dazzled with the prospect of gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the people by this unexampled dis-

terestedness. This act was called "The self-denying ordinance." The peers at first
1645 hesitated to pass the bill, but were soon overpowered by the commons. The earls of Essex, Denbigh, Fairfax, and Manchester, voluntarily resigned their commissions; and the whole command of the army was bestowed upon sir Thomas Fairfax, the general's son, as not being a member of parliament. This was just what Cromwell wanted; he had an absolute power over this new general, as indeed he had over the house of commons, who continued him in the command of his regiment, notwithstanding he was a member, and even ordered the general to give him the command of a detachment of horse, which was directed to march to Oxford. This very man, who had so artfully deprived all the members of their military employes, had likewise the address to get the officers of the independent party continued in their posts, and from that time it was easy to be perceived that the army would give laws to the parliament.

The new general, Fairfax, with the assistance of Cromwell, new-modelled the whole army, incorporated some regiments into others, made a total change in all the military corps, and established a new discipline; all this, which at any other time would have excited a revolt, now passed without the least resistance.

This army, animated with a new spirit, marched to meet the king's forces near Oxford, and here was fought the decisive battle of Naseby, between the royalists and the parliamentarians. Cromwell, who was general of the
the

the horse, after having defeated the king's cavalry, returned and fell upon the foot, which he likewise routed; and the honour of that celebrated victory was chiefly owing to him. The royal army was, after a great slaughter, all taken prisoners or dispersed. All the towns threw open their gates to Cromwell and Fairfax. The young prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. early a partaker in his father's calamities, was obliged to fly over to the isles of Scilly. The king after his defeat retired with the shattered remains of his army to Oxford, and first propoſals for peace to the parliament, which they insolently rejected, and even insulted him in his misfortunes. Their general had sent them a casket of the king's, which was found on the field of battle, and contained his private letters to the queen. Many of these letters were filled only with expressions of grief and tenderness. These were read openly in the house of commons, with all the bitter railery which belongs to brutality.

The king was in Oxford, a town almost destitute of fortifications, between the victorious army of the parliament on one side, and the Scotch army on the other. He now saw no other possibility of escaping, than that of throwing himself into the arms of the Scots, who were the least rancorous of his enemies. Accordingly he repaired to the Scottish army, to whom he delivered him self up; but the parliament having paid the Scottish army the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was due to them upon arrears, and promised

the payment of as much more, the king from that instant became a prisoner.

Feb. 16, The Scots delivered the king to
1645 the commissioners of the English parliament, who at first were puzzled in what manner to behave to their royal prisoner. The war appeared to be ended, the Scottish army was upon its march home, and the parliament had nothing to fear but from its own army, which had made it victorious. Cromwell and his independents were the masters of the soldiery. This parliament, or rather house of commons, tho' still all-powerful in London, was sensible that the army was aiming at the supreme authority, and therefore wanted to get rid of these troublesome servants, who were become dangerous to their masters; accordingly it was voted to send part of the forces into Ireland, and to disband the rest. It may easily be imagined whether or not Cromwell would suffer this? The critical moment was now arrived; he formed a council of officers, and another of private soldiers, called Agitators, who began by making remonstrances and petitions, and soon afterwards gave laws to the parliament. The king was in the hands of the parliament's commissioners at Holmby-castle; a party of soldiers, of the council of agitators, went and took him by force from the castle, and brought him to the army at Newmarket.

After this bold step, the army marched directly to London. Cromwell, being desirous to colour over the violence of his proceedings with some shew of regularity, impeached eleven

mem-

members of parliament, who were the declared enemies of the independent party, after which these members never dared to enter the house. The city of London at length opened its eyes when too late, and plainly perceived the misfortunes it had no longer the power to redress. It saw a tyrannical parliament tyrannized over by the army, its king a captive in the hands of the soldiery, and its citizens exposed to imminent danger. The mayor and common-council raise the militia, and hastily draw entrenchments round the city; but the army appearing at the gates, it threw them open, and quietly received its masters. The parliament put the command of the Tower into 1647 Fairfax's hands, returned the army thanks for its disobedience, and gratified the soldiers with a sum of money.

They were still at a loss how to dispose of the king's person; the independents had removed him to Hampton-court. Cromwell and the presbyterian party both entered into private treaty with him. The Scots likewise proposed to him to carry him off. Charles, who equally dreaded all these parties, found means to make his escape from Hampton-court, and crossed over to the isle of Wight, where he thought to find an asylum; instead of which he only met with a new prison.

During this anarchy, the fatal consequence of a factious and despised parliament, a divided capital, an insolent army, and the flight and imprisonment of the lawful sovereign, the same spirit which had so long animated the independents, on a sudden took possession of several of the common soldiers of the army, who formed

themselves into a body under the name of Levellers, an appellation which signified their design of reducing every thing to an equality, and acknowledging no master, either in church, army, or state. They did no more indeed than what the commons had done before them; they copied the examples of their officers, and their pretensions seemed to the full as well founded as those of the others. Their numbers were considerable; Cromwell finding that they were likely to become the more dangerous, as they acted upon his own principles; and that, if they were suffered to go on, they might deprive him of the fruit of all his policy and labour, formed the sudden resolution to quell them, at the hazard of his life. Accordingly he 1647 repaired to a meeting of those levellers, with a guard of chosen men with whom he had always been victorious, and began to expostulate with them, desiring to know in God's name what they wanted; and then fell upon them with such fury, that they were unable to make any resistance. He ordered some of the prisoners to be hanged upon the spot, and thus broke a faction, whose only crime was that of having followed his example.

This bold action greatly increased his power, both in the army, the parliament, and the city of London. Sir Thomas Fairfax was still general of the army, but far inferior in credit to Cromwell. The king, who was prisoner in the isle of Wight, continued to make proposals for peace, as if the war had not been already terminated, or that he thought his enemies would listen to them. His second son, the duke of York, afterwards king James II. who

who was then about fifteen years old, and was prisoner in St. James's palace, escaped more fortunately from his confinement than his father had done from Hampton-court, and retired to Holland. Some of the king's friends having at the same time gained over a part of the English fleet, steered with their squadron to the Brille, whither this young prince had retired, and delivered it to him. He immediately went on board, with his brother the prince of Wales, and set sail for England, in order to assist their father; and this very assistance proved the means of hastening his ruin.

The Scots, ashamed of being looked upon by all Europe as a people who had sold their king, assembled an army in his behalf, which was joined by several young noblemen, and others of the king's friends in England. Cromwell made forced marches to meet them with a part of the army, gave them 1648 battle at Preston, entirely routed their forces, and took their general, duke Hamilton, prisoner. The town of Colchester, in the county of Essex, which had declared for the king, was compelled to surrender at discretion by Fairfax; and this general sullied his victory by an act of cruelty, in causing several of the noblemen * who had engaged the inhabitants to take up arms for their prince, to be shot to death in his presence.

While Fairfax and Cromwell were thus reducing all to their obedience, the commons, who dreaded Cromwell and the independents

* Sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle were put to death at Colchester.

even more than they had done the king, began to treat with that unhappy monarch, and tried all their efforts to get rid of an army on which they could never afterwards place any dependance. The army, who was returned home victorious, demanded that the king should be brought to justice, as the author of all the evils with which the kingdom had been afflicted; that the principal royalists should be punished; and that the prince of Wales and the duke of York should be required to submit within a certain limited time, or otherwise to be proclaimed traitors, and banished for ever. To this address the commons returned no answer. Cromwell procures petitions to be presented to him from all the regiments in the army, praying that the king might be brought to trial. General Fairfax, who was still so blinded as not to see that Cromwell only made use of him as a tool, caused the captive king to be removed from the isle of Wight to Hurst-castle*, and from thence to Windsor, without vouchsafing to give any account of his conduct to the parliament. He then marched with the army to London, seized on all the posts, and obliged the city to supply him with forty thousand pounds sterling.

The next day, when the commons were going to their house, they found a guard at the door, who excluded the greater part of the presbyterian members, the first beginners of those troubles, of which they themselves were the victims, and suffered none but independents to enter, or such rigid presbyterians as had

* Hurst-castle is in Hampshire, opposite to the isle of Wight
always

always been implacable enemies to monarchy. The excluded members having published a protestation against the violence they had undergone, the two houses declared it scandalous and seditious. This remnant of the house of commons consisted wholly of a set of burghers, the slaves of the army, whose officers exercised unlimited power in all proceedings; the city itself was held in subjection by them; and the common council, which had so lately declared for the king, now wholly under the direction of the victorious party, concurred in the petition to have him brought to trial.

The commons appointed a committee of eight and thirty persons, to draw up a formal accusation or impeachment of his majesty; and a new court of justice was erected for trying him, of which Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton his son-in-law, Waller*, and other persons, to the number of forty-seven, were appointed commissioners and judges. The few peers who still continued to sit in the upper house, only for form's sake, the rest having withdrawn, were formally summoned to assist at this trial; but not one of them would attend. However, their refusal did not prevent the court from proceeding in its business.

The lower house now voted that the sovereign power resided originally in the people, and that the authority of the nation was in the hands of the representatives of the people: this point, which the army determined by the voices of a few citizens, overturned the English constitution. The commons, assembled in par-

* Sir Hardress Waller.

liament, are doubtless the legal representatives of the nation, but so likewise is the king and the peers. It has always been complained of, as a grievance, in other states, when private persons have been tried by commissioners; but here a sovereign was tried by commissioners who were his own subjects, and appointed by an inconsiderable part of the parliament. It is not to be doubted, that the house of commons thought they had a right to act in this manner. It was chiefly composed of independents, who all of them imagined that nature had placed no difference between them and kings, and the only distinction was on the side of the strongest. Ludlow, who was a colonel in the army, and one of the judges appointed on the king's trial, sufficiently proves by his memoirs, how much their pride was secretly flattered by having it in their power to pass sentence on one who had formerly been their master; and as this same Ludlow was a rigid presbyterian, there is no room to doubt that fanaticism had a great share in this catastrophe; besides, he fully explains the whole spirit of the times, by quoting this passage out of the Old Testament: "The land cannot be cleansed from blood, but by the blood of him who shed it."

In short, Cromwell, Fairfax, the independents, and the presbyterians, all concurred in thinking the death of the king absolutely necessary to their designs of setting up a commonwealth. Cromwell could not certainly flatter himself, at that time, with succeeding the king; he was only lieutenant-general in an army full of factions. He hoped, and with good reason, that the reputation he had gained

by

by his great military exploits would aquire him the first rank in that army, and in the republic, as well as an ascendancy over the minds of the people; but had he at that time formed the design of getting himself acknowledged sovereign of the three kingdoms, he would not have deserved to have been so. The mind of man proceeds in every undertaking only by degrees, and these degrees necessarily brought on Cromwell's elevation, who owed it entirely to his courage and good fortune.

Charles I. king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was beheaded by the hands of the executioner, at Feb. 10, 1648-9* Whitehall, and his body afterwards removed to the church of Windsor, but has never been found since. There had been several instances formerly of kings of England deposed by act of parliament, and of the wives of kings, who had fallen by the hands of the executioner. Mary queen of Scots had been sentenced to death by English commissioners, who had no other right over her life, than what a robber has over the defenceless person who falls into his hands; but there had never yet been an instance of any people bringing their own sovereign to the block, with all the pomp and solemnity of justice. We must go back three hundred years before our æra, to find an example of the like catastrophe, in the person of Agis king of Lacedemon.

* Or January 30, 1648-9, O. S. The reader is requested to observe here, once for all, that Mr. de Voltaire every where makes use of the new stile, in his dates to transactions.

CHAP. CLI. OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

AFTER the murder of Charles I. the commons published a proclamation, forbidding all persons, on pain of death, to acknowledge the late king's son, or any other, as sovereign of England. They likewise abolished the house of lords, where there were but sixteen peers sitting; so that, in all appearance, they took into their own hands the sovereignty of England and Ireland.

The house of commons, which should be composed of * five hundred and thirteen members, consisted then of only eighty. A new great seal was ordered to be made, on which was engraved these words; "The parliament of the commonwealth of England." The king's statue in the royal exchange had been already pulled down, and now this inscription was affixed in its room; "Charles the last king, and the first tyrant."

This same house condemned to death several noblemen, who had been taken prisoners fighting for their king. It was nothing extraordinary, that those who had violated the law of nations should infringe the law of arms; to do which the more effectually, the duke of Hamilton, a Scottish nobleman, was in the number of those devoted to death. This treatment was a principal means of determining the Scots to acknowledge Charles II. for their sovereign; but at the same time the law of liberty was so deeply rivetted in all hearts, that they restric-

* Thus it was before the union; but it now consists of five hundred and fifty-eight.

ted the royal authority within as narrow bounds as the English parliament had done at the beginning of the troubles. The Irish received their new king without conditions, Cromwell then got himself appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and immediately set out for that kingdom with the flower of the army, and was attended with his usual success.

In the mean time Charles II. was invited over to Scotland by the parliament of that kingdom, but on the same conditions as they had proposed to his father. They insisted that he should be a presbyterian, as the Parisians had insisted upon his grandfather Henry IV.'s becoming a Roman catholic. They restricted the royal prerogative in all things; whereas Charles was resolved upon having it preserved full and intire. His father's fate had in no wise weakened in him those notions, which seem born in the heart of every monarch.

The first consequence of his being proclaimed king of Scotland, was a civil war. The marquis of Montrose, a nobleman famous in those times for his personal valour and steady attachment to the royal family, had brought some soldiers from Germany and Denmark *, which he transported into the north of Scotland. Here he was joined by the Highlanders, and pretending to add the rights of conquest to those of his master, he was defeated, taken, and hanged upon a gallows thirty foot high.

* The marquis of Montrose brought a few Scotch officers from the continent: but he had no other troops than about 1200 Irish, and a few Highlanders, with whom he obtained several surprising victories, before he was defeated by David Leslie.

1656 After the death of Montrose, the king finding himself absolutely without other resource, quitted Holland and put himself in the power of those who had so lately hanged his general, and faithful friend and protector, and entered the city of Edinburgh by the very gate where the quarters of Montrose were still exposed. The new commonwealth of England began to make instant preparations for a war with Scotland, resolved that one half of the island should not be an asylum for a person who pretended to be king of the other likewise. This new commonwealth supported the change of government with as much prudence and conduct as it had shewn rage and fury in bringing it about; and it was an unheard of thing, that an handful of private citizens, without any chief to command them, should keep the peers of the realm at a silent distance, strip the bishops of their dignity, restrain the people within bounds, maintain an army of sixteen thousand men in Ireland, and the same in England, support a formidable fleet well provided with necessaries, and punctually pay all demands, without any one member of the house enriching himself at the nation's expence. To provide for so great a charge, they observed the strictest oeconomy in the management of the revenues formerly annexed to the crown, and made a sale of the forfeited lands of the bishops and chapters for ten years. In short, the nation paid a tax of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling per month; a tax ten times greater than that of ship-money, which Charles I. had attempted to raise by his own

authority, and which had been the first cause of so many disasters.

This parliament was not under Cromwell's direction, he being at that time on his Irish expedition, with his son-in-law Ireton; but it was chiefly guided by the independent party, who still bore a great sway. It was resolved by the house to assemble an army against the Scots, and to send Cromwell thither, next in command under general Fairfax; accordingly he received orders to quit Ireland, which he had almost subdued. General Fairfax refused to accept the command of the army against the Scots. He was not an independent, but he was a presbyterian, and pretended that his conscience would not suffer him to attack his brethren, as they had not invaded England; and, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the house, resigned his commission, and retired to end his days in peace. This was no extraordinary resolution, at a period, and in a country, where every one acted by his own rules. This however proved the era of Cromwell's greatness, who was appointed general in the place of Fairfax, and marched into Scotland, at the head of an army accustomed to victory for upwards of ten years. He beat the Scottish army at Dunbar, and immediately took possession of the city of Edinburgh. From thence he went in pursuit of Charles, who was advanced into England as far as Worcester, in hopes that the English royalists would rise in his behalf and join him there; but his army consisted chiefly of new raised troops, raw and undisciplined. Cromwell came up with, and attacked him on the banks

banks of the Severn; and gained, after very little resistance *, the completest victory
 Sepr. 13, that had ever crowned his arms. He
 1650 carried near seven thousand prisoners to London, who were sold as slaves to the American planters. The victorious army made itself master of all Scotland, while Cromwell pursued the king from place to place.

Imagination, the parent of fiction, never conceived a train of more extraordinary adventures, more pressing dangers, or more cruel extremities, than those which Charles experienced in his flight from his father's murderer. He was obliged to travel almost alone through by-paths half spent with hunger and fatigue, till he arrived in Staffordshire. There he concealed himself a whole night and day, in the hollow of a large oak in the midst of a wood *, surrounded by Cromwell's soldiers, who were every where in search of him. The oak was still to be seen at the beginning of this century. Astronomers have given it a place among the constellations of the southern pole, and have thus perpetuated the remembrance of these disasters. This prince, after wandering from village to village, sometimes disguised like a postilion, sometimes in woman's apparel, and

* The battle lasted several hours, during which the brigade commanded by William duke of Hamilton, brother of him who was beheaded, fought with great gallantry, until general Middleton was dangerously hurt, the duke mortally wounded, and the greatest part of his officers slain or disabled.

† It was at Boscobel in Shropshire, that the king and colonel Careless concealed themselves among the branches of an oak,

sometimes like a wood-cutter, at length found means to escape in a small fishing-boat, and was safely landed in Normandy, Nov. 1650, after having undergone, for six weeks, a train of adventures that almost exceed credibility.

Cromwell in the mean time returned to London in triumph. He was met a few miles from the city by the speaker of the house, accompanied by several of the members, and the mayor and magistrates of London in their formalities. The first thing he did, after his return, was to persuade the parliament to an abuse of the victory their troops had gained, and which was so flattering to the English. The house passed an act for incorporating Scotland, as a conquered country, with the English commonwealth, and royalty was abolished among the conquered, as it had already been among the victors.

Never had England been more powerful than since it had become a commonwealth. The parliament, which was wholly composed of republicans, formed the extraordinary project of joining the seven United Provinces to England, as it had lately incorporated Scotland. The stadtholder, William II. son-in-law to Charles I. was lately dead, after having 1651 attempted to make himself absolute in Holland, as Charles I. had attempted it in England, but with no better success. He left a son in the cradle*; and the English parliament hoped that the Dutch would as easily give up their stadtholder as the English had done its monarch, in which case the united republic of England,

* The child was not born till after the father's death.

Scotland, and Holland, might hold the balance of Europe; but the friends to the house of Orange, having vigorously opposed this project, which favoured greatly of the enthusiasm of the times, this very enthusiasm determined the English parliament to declare war against Holland. The two republics had several engagements at sea with various success. Some of the wisest among the members, who began to dread Cromwell's great influence and power, concurred in carrying on the war, that they might have a pretence for encreasing the navy expence, which might oblige the parliament to disband the army, and thus by degrees overthrow the dangerous power of the general.

Cromwell saw into their schemes, as they had penetrated into his; and now he threw off the mask entirely, and shewed himself in his proper colours. He told major general Vernon that, "He was compelled to do that which made his hair stand an end." He hastened to the house with a detachment of chosen men, and followed by the officers, who were most at his devotion, and set a guard upon the door; then he entered and took his place, and after some little pause, "Methinks, said he, this parliament is ripe enough to be dissolved." Some of the members having reproached him with ingratitude, he started up in the middle of the house, and exclaimed, "The Lord has done with you, and has made choice of other instruments." After this fanatic speech he reviled all present in the most opprobrious terms, reproaching one as a drunkard, another as a whore-master, and telling them all that the gospel condemned them, and that they had nothing to do

do but to dissolve themselves immediately. His officers and soldiers then entered the house, where pointing to the mace he bade one of them "Take away that bauble." Major-general Harrison then went up to the speaker and obliged him to leave the chair by violence; Cromwell then turning to the members, "It is you, added he, that have forced me upon this. I have prayed to the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having said this, he turned out all the members one by one, locked the door himself, and carried away the key in his pocket.

What is still more strange is, that the parliament being thus dissolved by force, and there being no acknowledged legislative authority, every thing did not fall into confusion. Cromwell called a council of his officers, and it was by them that the constitution of the state was truly changed. On this occasion that happened in England which we have already seen happen in all countries in the world; the strong gave laws to the weak.

At Cromwell's instigation this council nominated one hundred and forty-four persons to represent the nation in parliament; these were chiefly taken from the lowest class of the people; such as shop-keepers, and journeymen handicrafts. One of the most active members of this parliament was a leather-seller, named Barebones, from whom this assembly was called Barebones' parliament.

Cromwell, as general, sent a written order to all these members, requiring them to come and take upon them the sovereign power, and to govern the nation. This assembly, after sitting

sitting five months, during which time it became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation, came to a resolution to dissolve itself, and resigned the sovereign power into the hands of the council of war, who thereupon, of their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the three kingdoms; and sent for the lord mayor and aldermen to join in the same. Oliver was then conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, and there installed in the royal palace, where he afterwards took up his residence. He was honoured with the title of "Your Highness;" and the city of London invited him to a feast, where the same honours were shewn him as had been paid to their kings. Thus did a private gentleman of Wales*, from an amazing conjunction of courage and hypocrisy, rise to the kingly power, though under another name.

He was near fifty-three years of age when he attained the sovereign power, forty-two years of which time he had passed without having had any employ, civil or military. He was hardly known in 1642, when the house of commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commission for major of horse. From this beginning it was that he rose to be master of that house and the army; and after having subdued Charles I. and his son, stepped into their throne; and without being king reigned more absolutely and fortunately than any king had ever done. He chose a council consisting of fourteen of the principal officers, who had been

* He was born at Huntingdon, of a good family, though he inherited but a small estate from his father.

the companions of his fortunes, to each of whom he assigned a pension of a thousand pounds sterling. The forces were paid one month's advance; the magazines of all kinds were regularly supplied. In the treasury, of which he had the sole management, there were three hundred thousand pounds sterling, and about one hundred and fifty thousand in that of Ireland. The Dutch sued to him for peace, and he dictated the conditions, which were, that they should pay him three hundred thousand pounds sterling; that the ships of the states general should pay the compliment to the British flag; and that the young prince of Orange should never be restored to the offices or posts of his ancestors. This was the same prince, who afterwards dethroned James II. as Cromwell had dethroned his father.

All the nations of Europe vied with each other in courting the protector. France courted his alliance against Spain, and put Dunkirk into his hands. His admirals took the island of Jamaica from the Spaniards, which has ever since remained with the English. Ireland was entirely subdued, and treated like a conquered country. The estates of the vanquished were bestowed upon the victors, and those who were most attached to the royal cause died by the hands of the common executioner.

Cromwell, who governed with all the authority of a king, convoked several parliaments; but, as he was always their master, he dissolved them whenever he pleased. He discovered all the plots that were formed against him, and prevented many insurrections. The peers were wholly excluded from his parliaments, and lived

in

in obscurity on their respective estates. He had
 1656 the address to prevail on one of these parliaments to make him a tender of the royal dignity, that he might refuse it, and by that means more effectually secure his real power. He resided in the royal palace, where he lived a retired and gloomy life, without the least pomp or extravagance. General Ludlow, who was his lieutenant in Ireland relates, that when the protector sent his son Henry Cromwell over to that kingdom, he sent only one servant to attend him. He was always of a morose disposition: he was sober, temperate, saving, though not greedy of another's possessions: he was diligent and punctual in all public affairs. By his dexterous management he kept well with all sects: he did not persecute either those of the Romish communion, or of the church of England, who now hardly dared to shew their heads: he had chaplains of all parties: he was an enthusiast with the fanatics, (now called the Presbyterians,) whom he had cheated, subdued, and no longer feared; and would laugh at them, with the deists, placing confidence only in the independents, who could not subsist but through him. By this conduct he preserved to his last hour an authority which had been cemented with blood, and supported by force and artifice.

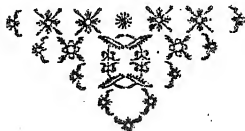
Sept. 13, Notwithstanding his sobriety, nature
 1658 had limited his life to fifty-eight years. He died of a common fever, occasioned probably by the anxiety of mind ever attendant upon tyranny; for towards the latter part of his life, he was under continual

apprehensions of being assassinated: he never lay two nights together in the same room. At his death he nominated his son Richard his successor in the protectorship. As soon as the breath was out of his body, one of his presbyterian chaplains named Herries, comforted the by-standers with this speech: "Do not be dismayed, as he protected the lord's people so long as he remained amongst us, he will protect us still more powerfully, now that he is ascended into heaven, where he will be seated at the right hand of Christ." The spirit of fanaticism was so powerful at that time, and Cromwell was held in such high esteem, that no one laughed at this ridiculous notion.

Notwithstanding the different interests which prevailed at that time, Richard Cromwell was peaceably proclaimed protector in London. The council issued an order for the funeral of the deceased protector, which was more magnificent than that of any of the kings of England. They chose as a model on this occasion the ceremonial which had been used at the death of Philip II. king of Spain. It is to be observed, that Philip was represented as being in purgatory for two months, in an apartment hung with black, and lighted with only a few tapers. He was afterwards represented as in heaven. The body was laid on a bed, richly adorned with gold, in an apartment hung with cloth of the same, and illuminated with upwards of five hundred tapers, the light of which was again reflected from silver plates, which formed a lustre equal to that of the sun at noon-day. The same ceremony was observed at Oliver's funeral.

funeral. He was laid on a bed of state, with the crown on his head, and a golden sceptre in his hand. The people gave little attention either to this imitation of a Romish ceremony, nor the magnificence with which it was accompanied. The dead body was embalmed and deposited in the royal vault, from whence Charles II. after his restoration, caused it to be removed, and exposed upon a gallows.

End of the FIFTH VOLUME.





*Cardinal Chigi, making the Pope's concessions to
Louis XIV.*

T H E
W O R K S
O F
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

W I T H
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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C H A P. CLII.

OF ENGLAND, under CHARLES II.

THE second protector, Richard Cromwell, not having the talents of the first, could not have the same fortune. His sceptre was not supported by the sword; and as he wanted the resolution and dissimulation of Oliver, he knew not either how to make himself feared by the army, nor how to manage the different sects and parties which divided the nation.

Richard, finding himself treated with contempt and even insolence by his father's military council, thought to secure his authority by convoking a parliament, consisting of two houses; one of which was formed by the principal officers, representing the peers, and the other of deputies from the counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, representing the three kingdoms; but the leaders of the army soon obliged

him to dissolve this parliament, and of their own authority restored that parliament which had brought king Charles I. to the scaffold, and which Oliver afterwards so disgracefully dismissed. This parliament, which was entirely independent as well as the army, would have neither king nor protector. At its first meeting, the general council of officers presented an address to this assembly of their own making, petitioning, that all cavaliers should be for ever excluded from their employs, and that the office of protector might be taken from Richard Cromwell, whom they however treated with great marks of respect, requiring a pension of twenty thousand pounds sterling to be settled upon him, and eight thousand upon his mother; but the parliament only accommodated him with two thousand pounds*, and sent him an order to leave Whitehall in six days, which he obeyed without murmuring, and ever afterwards led a private life. At that time the names of peers and bishops seemed wholly forgotten. Charles II. appeared abandoned by all the world, as well as Richard Cromwell; and it was thought by all the courts of Europe, that the English commonwealth was firmly established. However, the regal dignity was at length restored by an officer of Cromwell's, called Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, which had conquered that kingdom. The English parliament having formed a design to cashier the officers of that army, Monk, being apprized of their intention, marched directly to

* This is a mistake; they granted him twenty thousand pounds to pay his debts.

England, to try his fortune. The three kingdoms were at that time in a general state of anarchy. Monk had left part of his army in Scotland, but this was not sufficient to keep that nation in subjection. The other part, which marched under his command into England, had the parliament's forces to encounter. The parliament itself, who was equally apprehensive of either army, endeavoured, if possible, to make itself master of both. Here was sufficient cause for renewing all the horror of the civil wars.

Monk, finding himself not sufficiently powerful to succeed to the protectorship, determined to restore the royal family; and instead of shedding blood, he found means to perplex affairs in such a manner by his negotiations, and increased the confusion in the kingdom to such a degree, that the nation of itself began to wish for a king. In a word, the restoration was effected without the least bloodshed. Lambert, one of Cromwell's generals, and a most zealous republican, in vain attempted to renew the war; he was prevented before he could assemble a sufficient number of his veterans, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Monk. A new parliament was now called. The peers, who had so long remained an idle and useless body, now returned to their house, and resumed their functions in the state. Both houses acknowledged Charles II. as their lawful sovereign, and he was accordingly proclaimed king in London.

Charles II. thus invited over to Eng- May 8,
land, without having in the least con- 1660
tributed to this restoration by any
means of his own, and without having been
restrained by any conditions, departed from

Breda, the place of his retirement, and arrived in England amidst the shouts and acclamations of all the people; in a word, it hardly seemed that there had ever been a civil war.

The parliament ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton his son-in-law, and Bradshaw, president of the high court of justice, to be dug out of their graves, and dragged through the streets upon a sledge to the gallows. Of all those concerned in the bloody trial of Charles I. who were yet living, ten only were executed, who all of them suffered without the least signs of repentance, refusing to acknowledge the king's authority, and returning God thanks, who had chosen them to die "For the most glorious and just of all causes." These were most of them either of the obstinate sect of independents, or else Anabaptists, who looked for the second coming of Christ, and the establishment of the fifth monarchy.

There were only nine bishops living at that time in England: the king soon completed the number. The ancient order and discipline was restored both in church and state, and a round of magnificence and pleasures succeeded the gloomy ferocity which had so long taken possession of all minds. Charles introduced an excess of gallantry and diversions into the palace, yet stained with the blood of his father. The independents were no longer heard of. The puritans hid themselves. The spirit of the English nation underwent so total a change, that the late civil war became a subject of ridicule. The austere and gloomy sectaries, who had filled the kingdom with their enthusiastic notions, were now the butts of rail-

lery to the gay and licentious courtiers. Deism, which the king himself seemed openly to profess, became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom.

The royal society, which had been already formed, but was not established by the king's letters patent till 1661, began to soften the manners, by improving the understanding. The belles lettres were revived, and made daily advances towards perfection. In Cromwell's time all the learning in the nation was confined to the application of a few passages of the Old and New Testaments, to feed the flame of public animosities, and screen the purposes of the blackest revolutions. But now the study of nature and her works was encouraged, and the plan of the famous chancellor Bacon closely pursued. The science of mathematics was in a short time carried to a degree of perfection, that had never entered into the imagination of former adepts. A great man at length investigated the first principles of the general system of the universe, which till then had remained hidden; and while the other nations amused themselves with idle fables, the English found out the most sublime truths. All that the enquiries of past ages had effected in natural philosophy was nothing in comparison with that one discovery of the nature of light. In the space of twenty years, the arts and sciences made the most amazing progress: this is a merit and a glory which will never pass away. The fruits of genius and industry are permanent, while the effects of ambition, fanaticism, and reigning passions, are swallowed up in the times which produced them. The spirit of

the nation acquired immortal reputation under the reign of Charles II. though the administration did not.

The French spirit, which reigned at court, rendered it agreeable and brilliant; but by introducing a change in the manners, it subjected it to the designs of Lewis XIV. and the English government, which was wholly biased by French money and French councils, made the thinking part of the people regret at times the days of the usurper Cromwell, who had rendered his nation so respectable in the eyes of all Europe.

The parliaments of England and Scotland, after the king's restoration, vied with each other in giving him all the marks of condescension in their power, by way of reparation for the murder of his father. The English parliament in particular, in whose breast it chiefly lay to make him a powerful prince, granted a revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the support of his dignity and administration; exclusive of the sum destined for the support of the navy, which far exceeded any thing that had been granted to queen Elizabeth. Nevertheless, Charles's prodigality made him always in want; and the nation never forgave him the sale of Dunkirk, which Cromwell had acquired for the kingdom by his negotiations and arms, and which Charles parted with for the sum of two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling*.

* D'Estrades, the French minister at the Hague, came over to London, and managed this negotiation. For Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, the French king payed four hundred thousand pounds,

The war which he engaged in against the Dutch at the beginning of his reign, proved not only very burthensome, as it cost the nation upwards of seven millions and an half sterling, but it was likewise dishonourable * ; for admiral Ruyter sailed up as far as Chatham, and burnt all the English ships lying in that harbour.

These miscarriages were intermixed with most terrible calamities. London was ravaged by a plague at the beginning of this 1666 reign, and the city almost entirely destroyed by a dreadful fire. This calamity following upon a plague, and in the height of an unsuccessful war with the Dutch, seemed almost irreparable. Nevertheless, to the astonishment of all Europe, London was rebuilt in three years, and arose more beautiful, regular, and commodious, than it had been before. A tax upon coals, and the unwearied industry of the citizens, proved alone sufficient to effect this immense work. This was a mighty example of what mankind are capable of doing, and gave a degree of authenticity to the reports of the ancient cities in Asia and Egypt, which were so quickly rebuilt.

Not all these accidents, these mighty labours, the war of 1672 against the Dutch, nor the cabals with which the court and parliament

* The war was by no means disgraceful : for the Dutch were defeated in a great number of bloody engagements. The burning of a few ships in the river Medway was a reproach upon the administration, which, trusting to the negotiation for peace, had taken no precautions of defence ; but it was no disgrace to the nation in general.

were filled, made any diminution in the pleasures and gallantry, which Charles had brought with him into England, and which were the productions of the French climate, where he had resided for several years. A French mistress, French manners, and, above all, French money lorded it at court. Though all things underwent such a change in England; the love of liberty did not change among the people, nor that passion for absolute power which prevailed in the king and his brother, who succeeded him. This proved the source of numberless intrigues and plots, which embittered the general taste for pleasure, and clouded the festivities of the court with sundry executions. Zeal for religion or enthusiastic fury had no share in the effort made by Lord Shaftsbury and several other persons of distinction, to exclude the duke of York from the succession. Lord Shaftsbury was a declared deist. The duke of York was charged with being a papist; but it was only the arbitrary papist they stood in fear of.

Charles II. seems to have been the first king of England who bought the votes of the members of parliament by private pensions, at least in a country where there is hardly any thing secret. This method was never publicly carried on: we have no proof that any of the kings, his predecessors, had fallen on this way to shorten difficulties and prevent opposition.

The second parliament, which assembled in 1679; began by impeaching eighteen members of the house of commons of the preceding parliament, which had sat eighteen years. They were accused of having accepted pensions; but

as there was no law which prohibited the receiving of gratifications from the sovereign, they could not do any thing against them.

This new system of politics adopted by the court, did not prevent the house of commons from voting unanimously, that the duke of York, as being a professed papist, ought to be excluded from the crown, in like manner as the catholic leaguers in France had pretended to exclude Henry IV. The duke of Monmouth, natural son to Charles II. attempted to play the same part as the duke of Guise, by which he afterwards brought his own head to the block; and the same motives which had engaged the Whigs to exclude the duke of York from the throne, urged them to drive him from thence, after he had ascended it. However, Charles finding that that house which had deposed and murdered his father, now wanted to disinherit his brother in his lifetime; and justly apprehensive of the consequences of such a design in regard to himself, dissolved the parliament, and never called another during his reign.

Every thing was restored to quiet the instant the royal authority and the privilege of parliament ceased to oppose each other. 1681
The king was now reduced to live with oeconomy upon his revenue, and a pension of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was paid him by Lewis XIV. He only kept four thousand soldiers in pay, and he was reproached for keeping this small guard as if it had been a powerful standing army. Before him the kings of England were wont to have only one hundred men for their ordinary guard.

At that time there were only two opposite factions in the kingdom; that of the Tories, who professed a blind submission to the royal authority, and the Whigs, who defended the rights of the people, and were for restricting the sovereign power. The latter of these has almost always had the superiority.

But what has established the power of the English nation is, that all the different parties since the time of Elizabeth have unanimously concurred in encouraging trade. That very parliament which cut off the head of its king, was employed in settling maritime affairs, as if it had been a time of profound peace. The blood of this murdered prince was yet smoking upon the scaffold, when this parliament, which was almost entirely composed of fanatics, passed the famous act of navigation in 1650, which has been falsely attributed to Cromwell, and in which he had no other concern than being highly displeased with it; because this act, which was very prejudicial to the interest of Holland, proved one of the causes of the war between England and that republic; and as the operations of this war would be chiefly by sea, the great expence of the navy might oblige the parliament to lessen the army, of which Cromwell was general. This act has always continued in force. The chief advantage the nation derived from this act was, that it prohibited all nations to import any merchandize into England but what was the produce of the country to which the ships belonged.

As early as the reign of queen Elizabeth the English had an India company, prior to that of the Dutch, and there was also a new one
esta-

established afterwards in king William's reign. From the year 1597 to 1612, the English had the sole possession of the whale fishery; but their greatest riches lay in their flocks. At first they only knew how to sell their wool; but since Elizabeth's time they have manufactured the finest cloths in Europe. Agriculture, which was for a long time neglected, is now better than the mines of Peru to them. The culture of lands was chiefly encouraged by the act of parliament in 1689, for the exportation of grain; and since that time the government has always allowed a bounty of five shillings for every measure of wheat exported to foreign markets, when such measure, which contains twenty-four of our Paris bushels, shall not be worth more than two livres eight sous sterling in London. The exportation of all other kinds of grain have been encouraged in like proportion; and not long since it was proved in parliament, that the exportation of grain brought the kingdom in four years time the sum of one hundred and seventy millions three hundred and thirty thousand French livres.

England had not all these great resources in Charles II's time: it was still indebted to the industry of France, to whom it paid upwards of eight millions every year upon the balance of trade. The English had no manufactories for cloth, plate glass, copper, brass, steel, paper, or even hats. It was to the revocation of the edict of Nantz that they were indebted for almost all these new and important branches of trade.

By this single circumstance we may judge, how far the flatterers of Lewis XIV. were

in praising him for thus depriving France of so many useful subjects. Accordingly in 1687, the English government, sensible of the advantage it should gain by granting an asylum and support to the French artificers, made a collection for them amounting to fifteen hundred thousand francs, and maintained thirteen thousand of these new subjects in the city of London for one whole year.

This attention to commerce in a warlike nation, has in the end enabled it to pay subsidies to one half of Europe against the French; and within our knowledge its credit has increased to such a degree without any augmentation in its funds, that the government debt to private persons has some years amounted to upwards of seventy millions of our money. This is precisely the situation of the kingdom of France at present, where the government owes nearly the same yearly sum in the king's name to the annuitants and purchasers of public employs. This expedient which is unknown to many other nations, especially to the Asiatics, is the melancholy fruits of our wars, and the last effort of political industry.

C H A P. CLIII.

Of ITALY, and chiefly of ROME, at the
End of the sixteenth Century. Of the
Council of TRENT. Of the Correction
of the Calendar, &c.

WHILE France and Germany, almost
subverted at the end of the sixteenth,
and beginning of the seventeenth century, lay
languishing without trade, deprived of arts and
police, and plunged in anarchy; the Italians,
in general, began to taste the sweets of repose,
and vied with each other in cultivating the
liberal arts, which were either unknown to
other nations, or practised by them in a rude
manner. Naples and Sicily were free from re-
volutions, and wholly undisturbed. When
pope Paul IV. at the instigation of his ne-
phews, undertook to deprive Philip II. of these
two kingdoms, by the arms of the French
king Henry II. he pretended to make them
over to the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry
III. in consideration of the payment of twenty
thousand gold ducats *per ann.* in room of the
former annual tribute of six thousand, and on
the especial condition that his nephew should
enjoy certain very considerable and independent
principalities in those kingdoms.

This was at that time the only tributary
kingdom in the world. It was pretended that
the court of Rome determined it should be no
longer so, and proposed to annex it to the pa-
pal see, which would have given the popes such
a degree of weight and authority, as would

have made them masters of the balance of power in Italy: but it was impossible that pope Paul IV. or all Italy together, could take Naples from Philip II. and afterwards from the king of France, and thus strip the two most powerful monarchs of Christendom. This was only an unhappy rash project in pope Paul, who was insulted at his first setting out by the famous duke of Alva, at that time viceroy of Naples, who ordered all the bells and other brass work in Benevento, which belonged to the holy see, to be melted down and cast into cannon. This war was finished almost as soon as it was begun. The duke of Alva flattered himself with the hope of taking Rome, as Charles V. had done; but at the end of a few months he went thither to kiss the pontiff's feet, restored the bells of Benevento, and all was quiet.

1560 A shocking scene was exhibited after the death of pope Paul IV. by the condemnation of his two nephews, the prince of Pal-liano, and cardinal Caraffa; and the sacred college could not, without horror, behold the death of this cardinal, who was strangled by the orders of pope Pius IV. * as cardinal Poli had

* The two brothers, the cardinal and the duke de Pal-liano, were condemned and strangled for having abused the authority of their uncle, and exercised all manner of acts of tyranny and oppression; in particular for having caused the duke's wife Violante Dias Carlonna, to be put to death without form of trial, on pretence of adultery, when she was big with child. She was barbarously strangled by her own brother, the count d'Aliffe and Leonard Cardini, who likewise suffered death for their barbarity, under the pontificate of Pius IV.

been by those of Leo X. but one act of cruelty does not make a cruel reign, and the Roman nation was not oppressed.

The council of Trent was closed under the pontificate of Pius IV. in a peace-¹⁵⁶³able manner, without having produced any new effects either among the catholics, who held all the articles of faith taught by that council, nor among the protestants, who rejected them: it made no change in the customs of those catholic nations who adopted certain rules of discipline different from those of the council. France in particular retained what are called the liberties of the Gallican church, which are in effect the liberties of the nation. Twenty-four articles of this council, which were repugnant to the rights of the civil jurisdiction, were never admitted in that kingdom: by these articles the superintendence of all hospitals was vested in the bishops only. The pope alone was to give sentence in criminal causes on the bishops, and the laity were in several cases made subject to the episcopal jurisdiction. These were the reasons why the French government rejected the discipline established by the council. The kings of Spain received it into their dominions with the greatest respect, but at the same time with considerable private modifications. Venice followed the example of Spain. The Roman catholics of Germany insisted upon the use of the consecrated cup, and that priests should be allowed to marry. Pope Pius IV. by his briefs to the emperor Maximilian II. and the archbishop of Mentz allowed the communicating in both kinds; but remained inflexible in the article

of the marriage of the priests. The history of the popes gives us for a reason, that Pius, having got rid of the council, had nothing more to fear: hence it came, adds the writer of this history, that this pope, who made no scruple of violating all laws divine and human, was so strict with regard to celibacy. It is very false to say that Pius IV. violated all laws divine and human; and it is very evident that by preserving the ancient discipline of sacerdotal celibacy, which had been so long established in the West, he acted in conformity with an opinion which was become a law in that church.

All the other customs of church discipline peculiar to Germany remained on their original foundation. The disputes prejudicial to the secular power no longer raised those wars they had formerly done: there were still some few difficulties, some intricate points between the church of Rome and the Roman catholic states; but these little disputes did not cost any bloodshed. The interdict which pope Paul V. laid upon the republic of Venice, was the only considerable quarrel which happened afterwards. The religious wars in France and Germany found them other employments; and the court of Rome usually kept fair with the Roman catholic princes, for fear they should turn protestants: but wretched was the fate of those weak princes, who had such a powerful monarch as Philip to oppose, who was master in the conclave.

Italy was deficient in respect to general police; this was its real scourge. Surrounded by the arts, and in the very bosom of peace, it had been a long time infested with public robbers, like

like ancient Greece in the more barbarous times. Whole troops of armed banditti marauded from one province to another, from the frontiers of Milan to the farther end of the kingdom of Naples, either purchasing the protection of the petty princes, or obliging them to wink at their rapines. The papal see could not clear its dominions of them, till the time of Sixtus V. and even after his pontificate they appeared sometimes. The example of these freebooters encouraged private persons to put in practice the shocking custom of assassination: the use of the filetto was but too common in towns, while the country was over-run by the banditti. The students of Padua used to knock people on the head as they were passing under the piazzas, which run along each side of the street.

Notwithstanding these disorders, which were but too common, Italy was the most flourishing country in Europe, if it was not the most powerful. Those foreign wars were no longer heard of which had filled it with desolation after the reign of Charles VIII. nor the intestine commotions which had armed principality against principality, and town against town: nor those conspiracies which had formerly been so frequent. Naples, Venice, Rome, and Florence, attracted the admiration of foreigners, by their magnificence and encouragement of all the arts. The more refined pleasures were truly known only to this climate, and religion presented itself to the people under that specious dress which is so necessary for nice imaginations. Italy alone abounded with temples worthy of the ancient
gran-

grandeur, and they were all surpassed by St. Peter's at Rome.

If superstitious ceremonies, false traditions, and feigned miracles still prevailed among these people, the wise despised them, who well knew that errors have in all times been the amusement of the vulgar. Perhaps our northern writers, who have exclaimed so violently against these erroneous customs, have not rightly distinguished between the people and those by whom they are led. Certainly no one would entertain a contemptible idea of the ancient Roman senate, because the temples of Esculapius were lined with the offerings of those whom nature cured of their maladies; because a thousand votive tablets of travellers escaped from shipwreck, adorned or rather disfigured the altars of the God Neptune; and that in Egnatia the incense burnt and smoaked of its own accord on the holy stone. Many a protestant, after having tasted the delights of a residence at Naples, has, at his return, exhausted himself in invectives against the three miracles which are performed on certain appointed days in that city, when the blood of St. Januarius, St. John the Baptist, and St Stephen, which is kept in bottles, liquefies on approaching the heads of these saints. They accuse the chiefs of those churches with ascribing these idle miracles to the Deity. The wise and prudent Addison says, that he never saw "A more blundering trick." All these writers might have observed that these institutions have no bad effects upon the morals of the people, which ought to be the principal concern of every government, civil and ecclesiastical; that in all pro-

probability the warm imaginations of the natives of those hot climates stand in need of visible signs to convince them that they are continually under the immediate hand of Providence; and lastly, they should consider that these signs cannot be laid aside till they are fallen into contempt with those who now hold them in so much reverence.

To pope Pius IV. succeeded the Dominican Gileri, who took the name of Pius V. and was so hated even in Rome itself for the rigorous manner in which he enforced the exercise of the inquisitorial jurisdiction, which was in all other places so strenuously opposed by the secular courts. The famous bull in Cœna Domini, that first appeared under pope Paul III. and was afterwards published by this Pius V. and in which the prerogative of crowned heads was insulted, disgusted every court, and was much censured by the universities.

The extinction of the order of the Humiliati was one of the principal events of his pontificate. The monks of this order, which was chiefly established in the dutchy of Milan, led very scandalous lives. St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, endeavoured to work a reformation in them, upon which four of them entered into a conspiracy against his life; one of them fired upon him with a musket as he was at prayers in his own house, but wounded him only slightly. The good man interceded with the pope in their behalf; but his holiness punished their crime with death, and abolished the whole order.

Pius V. immortalized his memory by his vigorous defence of Christianity against the Turks.

Turks. His greatest eulogium was made in Constantinople itself, where they ordered public rejoicings on account of his death*.

Gregory XIII. of the family of Buoncampagno, succeeded Pius V. and rendered his name famous to posterity by the correction of the calendar, which is called after him; in which he imitated Julius Cæsar. The continual need there was of correcting the year in all nations shews the slow progress of the useful arts. Mankind had found the way to ravage the world from one end to the other, before they knew how to compute time or regulate their days. The ancient Romans had only ten lunar months at first, and their year consisted of no more than three hundred and four days, and afterwards of three hundred and fifty-five. The attempts to remedy this false computation were so many errors. All the high priests from the time of Numa Pompilius, were the astronomers of their nation, as they were likewise among the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Persians, and almost all the Asiatics. Their knowledge of time rendered them more venerable to the people; for nothing gives a greater degree of authority than the knowledge of useful things, which are unknown to the vulgar.

As the pontifical dignity among the Romans was always vested in a senator, Julius Cæsar, in quality of high-priest, corrected the calendar so far as he was able; in which he had recourse to the assistance of Sosigenes, a Greek

* The galleys furnished by this pontiff had a considerable share in the victory of Lepanto,

mathematician of Alexandria, which city had been made the centre of sciences and commerce by Alexander the Great: it was the most famous school for the mathematics in those times; and thence the Egyptians, and even the Hebrews themselves, had learnt great part of their useful knowledge. The Egyptians knew before how to raise enormous masses of stone; but the Greeks taught them all the polite arts, or rather practised them amongst them without ever being able to form pupils. In fact, we do not find any one person of this slavish and effeminate nation distinguished for the Grecian arts.

The christian pontiffs had the regulating of the year as well as the pontiffs of ancient Rome because it was their province to fix the time, for observing the festivals. The first council of Nice, held in the year 325, observing the confusion introduced by time into the Julian calendar, consulted, as Cæsar had done, the Greeks of Alexandria, who returned for answer, that the vernal or spring equinox happened in that year on the twenty-first day of March; the fathers then regulated the time for the celebrating the feast of Easter according to that principle.

Two very slight mistakes in Cæsar's computation, and that of the astronomers consulted by this council, increased considerably in a number of ages. The first of these mistakes happens from the famous golden number of Meton the Athenian, which allows nineteen years for the revolution which the moon makes in returning to the same point in the heavens: there wanted only an hour and a half, an error almost

most imperceptible in one century, but which in a succession of ages became very considerable. The same may happen with regard to the sun's apparent course, and the points which determine the equinox and solstices. The vernal or spring equinox, which at the time of the council of Nice happened on the twenty-first day of March, had gained an advance of ten days, and happened the eleventh of the same month. This precession of the equinoxes, the cause of which was unknown to all the ancients, and was not discovered till of late years, is occasioned by a particular motion in the earth, which motion is completed in the space of twenty-five thousand nine hundred years, and occasions the equinoxes and solstices to pass successively through all the points of the zodiac. This motion is the effect of gravity, of which Newton alone has discovered and calculated the phænomena, which seemed beyond the reach of human understanding.

In the time of Gregory XIII. they never troubled themselves about guessing at the cause of this precession of the equinoxes ; the question was to remedy the error which began to make a sensible confusion in the civil year. Gregory on this occasion consulted all the famous astronomers of Europe. A physician named Lilio*,
a na-

* Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, is celebrated by the historian Thuanus, as a person perfectly well acquainted with the Greek and Roman languages, with the belles lettres, and ancient history. He says he was a domestic of cardinal Rangoni when Rome was taken and pillaged by the troops of the emperor Charles V. on which occasion he was plundered of all his effects, including his library. He lived in
great

a native of Rome, had the honour of furnishing the most simple and easy method for restoring the order of the year, such as we now see it in the new Calendar. It was only to take ten days from that year (1582,) and by this easy precaution to prevent any disorder in the ages to come. This Lilio has since been forgotten, and the calendar bears the name of pope Gregory, in like manner as Sosigenes's name was lost in that of Cæsar. It was not thus among the ancient Greeks: with them every artist enjoyed the honour of his own invention.

It is however to the honour of Gregory that he was indefatigable in establishing this necessary correction; for he met with more difficulty in getting it received in other nations, than in having it settled by the mathematicians. France held out for some months; till, at last upon an edict issued by Henry III. and registered by the parliament of Paris, they began to reckon as they ought. But the emperor Maximilian II. could not persuade the diet of Augsburg that the equinox was advanced ten days. It was feared that the court of Rome, in taking upon it to instruct other nations, would pretend to a right of governing them. Thus the old calendar continued to be used for some time even by the

great poverty to extreme old age. He invented the thirty epact numbers, denoting the excess of the common solar year above the lunar, and discovering the age of the moon every year. He composed a treatise for the reformation of the kalendar, which his brother Lilio Antonio Giralaldi presented to pope Gregory XIII. and his scheme was embraced, after having been communicated to all the princes of Christendom, and approved by the most learned universities of Europe.

catholic states of Germany. The protestants of all communions have obstinately refused to admit a truth coming from the pope, which ought to have been embraced, had it been proposed by the Turks.

The latter part of Gregory XIII's pontificate was famous by the embassy of 1575 submission which he received from Japan. Rome extended its spiritual conquests to the farther end of the globe, while it suffered losses at home. Three kings or princes of Japan, which was at that time divided into several sovereignties, sent each one of their nearest relations to compliment Philip II. king of Spain, as the most powerful of all christian kings, and the pope as the father of all kings. The letters written by the princes to the pope, began all with an act of adoration. The first, which was from the king of Bungo began, "To the adorable, who holds the place of the king of heaven upon earth;" and ended with these words: "I address your holiness with reverence and awe, whom I adore, and whose most holy feet I kiss." The other two were nearly in the same stile. Spain at that time was in hope that Japan would become one of its provinces; and the holy see already beheld one third of that vast empire subject to its ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The people of Rome would have been very happy under Gregory's government, had not the public tranquillity been troubled by banditti. He abolished some grievous imposts, and did not dismember the state to provide for his bastard, as some of his predecessors had done.

C H A P. CLIV.

Of Pope SIXTUS V.

THE pontificate of Sixtus V. is more famous in history than those of Gregory XIII. and Pius V. though these two pontiffs performed greater things; the one having signalized himself by the battle of Lepanto, of which he was the principal cause, and the other by his correction of time.

It sometimes happens that one man, by his character and the singularity of his elevation, shall attract the regard of posterity more than others by the most memorable actions. The great disproportion which appeared between the birth of Sixtus V. who was the son of a poor day-labourer, and his elevation to the supreme pontificate, adds a double lustre to his reputation: however, we have already observed, that mean-ness or obscurity of birth was never looked upon as an obstacle to this dignity by a religion and a court where merit is entitled to employments of every rank, notwithstanding they may sometimes be the rewards of intrigue and cabal. Pius V. was of a mean origin; Adrian VI. was the son of an artificer; Nicholas V. was obscurely born; the father of the famous John XXII. who added a third circle to the tiara, and wore three crowns without possessing a foot of land, was a cobbler at Cahors; as was likewise the father of pope Urban. Adrian IV. one of the greatest of the pontiffs, was the son of a beggar, and followed that profession him-
 VOL. V. C self.

self. The history of the church is filled with instances of this nature, to the encouragement of private virtue and the confusion of human pride. Those who have endeavoured to exalt the birth of Sixtus V. do not consider that in so doing they lessen his personal merit, by taking from him the praise of having overcome the first obstacles. There is a greater distance between a swineherd, which he was in his childhood, and the lowest places he held in his orders, than between that place and the papal throne. Memoirs of his life have been composed at Rome from journals, which furnish little more than dates, and from panegyrics, which inform us of nothing at all. The Cordelier who has written the life of Sixtus V. begins by saying, that "he has the honour to treat of the noblest, best, and greatest of all pontiffs, princes, and philosophers, the glorious and immortal Sixtus:" and by this very beginning destroys all credit in himself.

The spirit of Sixtus V. and of his reign is the essential part of his history: what particularly distinguishes him from other popes is, that he never acted in any respect like others. The behaving in the most haughty, and even oppressive manner, while he was a private monk; the subduing the heat of his temper, as soon as he was made a cardinal; the appearing for the space of fifteen years incapable of all kind of public business, especially that of commanding as a superior, in order to determine one day in his favour the suffrages of all those who thought to govern under his name; the resuming all his pride the instant he ascended the throne; the unheard-of severity he exercised

fed in his pontificate, and the noblenefs of his undertakings; the embellifhing the city of Rome, and leaving the Roman treasury immensely rich at his deceafe; the difbanding the troops, and even the body-guards of his predecessors, and difperſing the numerous banditti, by the ſole power of his laws; and the making himſelf feared by every one, by his place and character; were actions that made his name illuſtrious, even among the illuſtrious ones of Henry IV. and Elizabeth, his contemporaries. Other ſovereigns at that time ran the hazard of loſing their thrones, by engaging in any undertaking without the aſſiſtance of the numerous armies which they afterwards kept on foot. It was not thus with the ſovereigns of Rome, who, by uniting the prieſtly with the kingly dignity, did not even ſtand in need of a guard.

Sixtus V. raiſed a great reputation by the improvements he made in the buildings and police of the city of Rome; Henry IV. had done the ſame in that of Paris: but this was the leaſt of Henry's merits, whereas it was the principal one of Sixtus V. and we find that this pope executed greater things in this way than the French monarch. He ruled over a peaceable, and at that time a very induſtrious people; he found amidſt the ruins, and in the example of ancient Rome, and alſo in the labours of his predecessors, every thing he could wiſh to further his great deſigns.

In the time of the Roman Cæſars, fourteen immense aqueducts ſupported upon arches, conveyed whole rivers to Venice, for the length of ſeveral miles, and ſupplied an hundred and fifty

fountains and one hundred and eighteen public baths in that city with water, besides what went to form those artificial seas, on which they represented naval combats. An hundred thousand statues adorned the public squares, highways, temples, and houses. Ninety-six colossus's all raised on porticos, and forty-eight obelisks of granite, cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, filled the beholder with amazement, and puzzled the imagination to conceive how such immense masses could have been transported from the tropic to the banks of the Tyber. There remained a few of these aqueducts to be restored by the popes; some obelisks to raise, which were buried under ruins, and some statues to dig up.

Sixtus V. restored the fountain of Martia, whose spring is near the ancient Præneste, twenty miles distant from Rome, and brought it over an aqueduct thirteen thousand paces in length, for which it was necessary to raise arches upon a road seven miles long. This, which would have been a trifling work for the Roman empire, was a great deal for modern Rome in its poor and circumscribed state.

By his care five of the ancient obelisks were raised. The name of the architect Fontana, who raised them, is still famous at Rome; while the artists who cut them, and those who transported them to so great a distance, are no longer known. We read in some travellers, and in an hundred writers who have copied after them, that when the Vatican obelisk was raising upon its pedestal, the ropes used for that purpose were found too short, upon which, notwithstanding it had been expressly prohibit-

ed,

ed, under pain of death, for any one to speak during the operation, one of the common people cried out, "Wet the ropes*." These idle tales, which make history ridiculous, are the effects of ignorance. The capstans which they made use of on this occasion, left no room for having recourse to so trifling an assistance.

The work which gave modern Rome some degree of superiority over the ancient, was the cupola of St. Peter's church. There were but three monuments of this kind remaining in the world; namely, part of the dome of the temple of Minerva at Athens, that of the Pantheon at Rome, and of the great mosque at Constantinople, formerly the church of St. Sophia, built by Justinian: but these domes, though sufficiently lofty within, were too flat and low on the outside. Brunelleschi, who restored architecture in Italy, in the 14th century, had, by an effort of art, remedied this defect in the cathedral of Florence, by raising two cupolas one upon the other: but these cupolas had still something of the Gothic in them, and wanted the grand proportions. Michael Angelo Buonarota, who was a painter, sculptor, and ar-

* This is the very reverse of what ought to have been done, had the ropes been actually too short: for a cord is shortened by being moistened with water. The complication of mechanical powers used in the elevation of this obelisk, not permitting a further immediate extension, when it still wanted something of being raised to a perpendicular, it is said that the engineer caused the ropes to be wetted, by which means they were suddenly contracted, so as to set the obelisk upright. This is a very common experiment in natural philosophy.

chitect, and equally great in all three branches, had, as early as the pontificate of Julius II. given the designs of the two domes of St. Peter's; and Sixtus V. caused this work, which exceeds all of its kind, to be built in the space of twenty-two months.

The library, which was first set on foot by pope Nicholas V. was so considerably augmented by Sixtus, that he might very well pass for the true founder. The immense pile of building which contains the books, is itself a beautiful monument. There was not at that time the equal of this library in Europe, either for the largeness or curiosity of the collection: but the city of Paris has greatly excelled Rome in this respect; and though the king's library at Paris is not to be compared to the Vatican, in regard to the architecture, there is a much greater number of books, they are disposed in better order, and strangers can much more easily have the reading of them.

It was the misfortune of Sixtus V. and his dominions, that he impoverished his subjects by all these great foundations, whereas Henry IV. eased his of their load. Both of them left nearly the same sum in ready money in the public treasury at their deaths; for although Henry IV. had forty millions in reserve, which he could dispose of as he pleased, there was not above twenty in the vaults of the Bastile; whereas the five millions of gold crowns deposited by Sixtus V. in the castle of St. Angelo, amounted to very near twenty millions of our livres at that time. Such a sum could not be taken out of the circulation, in a state almost wholly void of manufactures and commerce, such

such as Rome is, without impoverishing the inhabitants: and to amass this treasure, and supply all other expences, Sixtus was obliged to give a greater latitude to the sale of public employs, than either Sixtus IV. or Julius II. his predecessors. Leo X. began this practice, Sixtus aggravated the burthen. He raised annuities at eight, nine, and ten per cent. for the payment of which an addition was made to the taxes. The people forgot that he was embellishing Rome, and only felt that he was impoverishing them; so that this pontiff was more hated than he was admired.

We should always consider the popes in two points of view, as sovereigns of a state, and as the heads of the church. Sixtus V. in quality of chief pontiff, wanted to revive the times of Gregory VII. He declared Henry IV. at that time king of Navarre, incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. He deprived queen Elizabeth of her kingdoms by a bull, and, had Philip's invincible armada landed in England, the bull might have been carried into execution. The manner in which he behaved towards Henry III. after the murder of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal his brother, was not quite so violent. He contented himself with only declaring him excommunicated, unless he did penance for those two murders. This was imitating St. Ambrose; and acting like Adrian IV. who required Henry II. of England to do public penance for the murder of Becket, afterwards canonized under the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The French king, Henry III. had just caused two princes to be murdered in his own palace; they were dangerous subjects

indeed, but they had not been allowed a trial; and it would even have been a very difficult matter to have regularly convicted them of any absolute crime. They were the leaders of a fatal league, but a league which the king himself had signed. All the circumstances of this two-fold assassination were truly horrible; and without entering upon such excuses as might be alledged from the politics and unhappy situation of affairs in those times, the safety of human kind seemed to require that a curb should be put to such violences. Sixtus lost the fruit of his austere and inflexible behaviour, by supporting only the rights of the triple crown and the sacred college, and not those of humanity; and by not censuring the murder of the duke of Guise so strongly as that of the cardinal; by insisting only on the pretended immunity of the church, and the right claimed by the popes of trying the cardinals; by ordering the king of France to release the cardinal of Bourbon and the archbishop of Lyons, whom he detained prisoners from the strongest reasons of state; and lastly, by commanding him to repair within sixty days to Rome, to expiate his offence. It is undoubtedly true, that Sixtus, as head of all Christians, might say to a christian prince, "Clear yourself before God of this two-fold homicide:" but he had not power to say to him, "It belongs to me alone to try your ecclesiastical subjects; it belongs to me to try you in my court."

This pope seemed still less to preserve the greatness and impartiality of his office, when after the murder of Henry III. by the monk James Clement, he delivered himself in these
very

very words, in a speech which he made to the cardinals, which has been faithfully transmitted by the secretary of the consistory.

“ This death, which occasions so much surprise and admiration, will hardly be credited by posterity. A powerful king surrounded by a numerous army, who had compelled the city of Paris to sue to him for mercy, is slain by a single stroke of a knife, by a poor monk. Certainly this great example has been given, in order that every one might know the power of God’s judgments.”

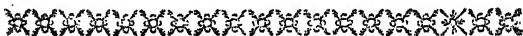
Sixtus was right in refusing the empty honours of a funeral service to Henry III. whom he considered as excluded from the benefit of prayers. Accordingly he said in the same consistory, “ I owe them to the king of France, but not to Henry of Valois, who died impenitent.”

All things yield to interest: this very pope, who had so proudly deprived Elizabeth and the king of Navarre of their kingdoms; who had signified to king Henry III. that he expected him at Rome to answer for his conduct, within sixty days, or else that he would excommunicate him, refused after all to join with the league and the king of Spain against Henry IV. though at that time a heretic. He was sensible that if Philip II. succeeded, this prince, master of France, Milan, and Naples, would quickly become master likewise of the papal see, and of all Italy. Sixtus, then, did what every prudent man would have done in his place; he chose rather to expose himself to all Philip’s resentment, than to ruin himself by lending a hand to ruin Henry.

He died in this state of uncertainty, not daring to succour Henry, and fearing Philip. The people of Rome, who groaned beneath the weight of taxes, and who hated so oppressive and cruel an administration, grew outrageous

upon the death of Sixtus, and were
 Aug. 26. with great difficulty restrained from
 1590. disturbing the funeral ceremony,

and tearing to pieces the person whom they had adored on their knees. The riches he left behind him were squandered away within less than a year after his death, like those of Henry IV. a common consequence, which sufficiently evinces the vanity of all human designs.



C H A P. CLV.

Of the Successors of SIXTUS V.

WE may see how much men are governed by education, country, and prejudices of every kind. Gregory XIV. a native of Milan, and a subject of the king of Spain, was governed by the Spanish faction, whom Sixtus, a native of Rome, had always opposed. This pope sacrificed every thing to Philip II. An army of Italians was raised to carry desolation into France, with the very money which Sixtus had amassed in order to defend Italy; and this army being beaten and dispersed, Gregory had nothing left but the shame of having impoverished himself for Philip II. and being tyrannized over by him,

Clement

Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini) a Florentine, behaved with more spirit and address; he knew very well that it was the interest of the papal see to hold, as much as possible, the ballance of power between France and the house of Austria. This pope added the dutchy of Ferrara to the ecclesiastical demesnes. This was another effect of those feudal laws, so intricate and so contested, and an evident consequence of the weakness of the empire. The countess Matilda, of whom we have so largely treated in the foregoing part of this work, had given the popes Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, together with several other lands. The emperors always disputed the donation of these demesnes, which were fiefs to the crown of Lombardy. They became, in spite of the empire, fiefs to the papal see; as well as Naples, which was also held of the popes, after it had been held of the emperors. It is but of late years that Modena and Reggio have been formerly declared Imperial fiefs: but ever since the time of Gregory VII. they, as well as Ferrara, had been dependent on the see of Rome; and the house of Modena, which had been formerly proprietor of these lands, only held them by the title of vicars to the holy see. The courts of Vienna and the Imperial diets in vain pretended to be lords paramount. Clement VIII. took Ferrara from the house of Este, and what might have occasioned a violent war, produced nothing but protests. Since that time Ferrara has been almost a desert.

This pope performed the ceremony of giving absolution and discipline to Henry IV. in the persons of the cardinals du Perron and Ossat;

1595 but it was evident how much the fee of Rome stood in awe of Philip II. by the management and artifices which pope Clement made use of to bring about Henry's reconciliation to the church. This prince had solemnly abjured the reformed religion; and yet two thirds of the cardinals in the consistory refused to grant him absolution. His ambassadors could with great difficulty prevent the pope from making use of this formulary, "We restore Henry to his royalty." The pope's ministry would gladly have acknowledged Henry as king of France, and have opposed this prince to the house of Austria; but at the same time it supported, as far as it was able, its ancient pretension to dispose of kingdoms.

Under Paul V. (Borghese) the old quarrel was revived about the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which had formerly cost so much blood. The senate of Venice prohibited any new donations to be made to churches, without the concurrence of the state; in particular, the alienations of landed estates in favour of monks. It likewise thought it had a right of arresting and trying a canon of Vicenza, and an abbot of Nervesa, who had been convicted of extortion and murder.

The pope wrote to the republic, that the sentence and imprisonment of the two ecclesiastics was an injury offered to God's honour, and required that the decree of the senate should be delivered to his nuncio, together with the persons of the two culprits, who could be tried only by the Roman courts.

Paul V. who, but a little time before, had obliged the republic of Genoa to submit on a like

like occasion, thought to meet with the same pliability in that of Venice. The senate sent an extraordinary ambassador to defend its privileges. Paul answered the ambassador, that neither the arguments nor the privileges of the Venetians were of any consequence; and that they must obey. The senate would not obey. Upon which the doge and senators were all excommunicated, and the whole state laid under an interdict; that is to say, the clergy were prohibited, under pain of eternal damnation, to say mass, celebrate divine service, administer the sacraments, or give their assistance in burying the dead. This was the manner in which Gregory VII. and his successors had treated several emperors, being sure at that time that the people would rather abandon their emperors than their churches; and depending upon having some potentate ready to invade the dominions of those who were excommunicated. But the times were now changed. Paul V. by this violent procedure, ran the risk of not being obeyed, and of urging the Venetians to shut up their churches, and renounce the Roman catholic religion. They might easily have embraced either the Greek, the Lutheran, or the Calvinistical faith; and there was actually a motion made to separate from the pope's communion. But the change could not have been effected without some trouble; of which the king of Spain might have made advantage. The senate contented itself with prohibiting the reading of the mandate throughout its territories. The chief vicar of the bishopric of Padua, when this prohibition was signified unto him, made answer

swer to the Podesta, that he would act as God inspired him: but the Podesta replying, that God had inspired the council of ten to order every one to be hanged who should disobey their injunction, the interdict was not published in any place; and the court of Rome was very glad to let the Venetians continue in the profession of the catholic religion, in despite of her authority.

There were only a few of the religious orders who obeyed the pope's mandate. The Jesuits would not be the first to set the example, and therefore sent a deputation from their body to the general assembly of the Capuchins, who told those fathers, that "the eyes of the whole universe were fixed upon the Capuchins in this great affair, and waited for their example to know how to act." The Capuchins, without hesitation, shut up their churches. The Jesuits and the Theatins did the same: upon which the senate shipped them all off for Rome, and the Jesuits in particular were banished the state for ever.

The king of Spain stirred up the pope against the Venetians, and Henry IV. declared in their favour. The cities of Verona, Padua, Bergamo, and Brescia, took up arms; and the republic raised four thousand soldiers in France. The pope on his side ordered four thousand Corsicans and some catholic Swiss to be raised. This little army was to be commanded by cardinal Borghese. The Turks gave public thanks to God for this misunderstanding between the pope and the Venetians. Henry IV. had the honour, as I have already mentioned, of being the arbiter in this difference, and of excluding Philip
from

from the mediation. Paul V. had the mortification of not being able even to get the accommodation concluded at Rome. Cardinal de Joyeuse, who was sent envoy to Venice by the king of France, revoked, in the pope's name, the sentence of excommunication and interdiction. The pope, thus abandoned by Spain, behaved with greater moderation, and the Jesuits continued banished from the republic for upwards of fifty years; till at length they were recalled in 1657, at the instance of pope Alexander VII. but they have never been able to re-establish their credit there.

Paul V. from that time would never make any decision which could call his authority in question. He was in vain importuned upon the article of faith, concerning the immaculate conception of the holy virgin: he contented himself with forbidding any one to teach the contrary in public, that he might not give offence to the Dominicans, who pretend that she was conceived like others in original sin. The Dominicans were at that time very powerful both in Spain and Italy.

This pontiff applied himself to the embellishment of Rome, and collecting the best performances in sculpture and painting. Rome is indebted to him for its finest fountains, particularly that which throws its waters out of an antique vase, taken from the baths of Vespasian, and that which is called the *Acqua Paola*, an ancient work of Augustus, which Paul V. restored, and caused water to be brought to it by an aqueduct thirty-five thousand paces long, like that of Sixtus V. There seemed to be a contest who should leave the most beautiful monu-

monuments behind him in Rome. This pope finished the palace of Monte Cavallo. The palace of Borghese is one of the most considerable. Rome became under each pope the most beautiful city in the world. Urban VIII. built the high altar in St. Peter's, the columns and ornaments of which would every where else appear stupendous works, but here are only in a just proportion. It is the master-piece of the Florentine Bernini *, whose works are worthy of being admitted among those of his countrymen Michael Angelo.

This Urban VIII. whose name was Barberino, was a lover of all the arts; and was particularly successful in Latin poetry. The people of Rome during his pontificate enjoyed all

* John Laurentius Bernini was born at Naples, though of a Tuscan family: he excelled in the different arts of painting, sculpture, architecture, and mechanics. Pope Gregory XV. procured his admittance as a knight into the order of Christ in Portugal; and Urban VIII. made him overseer of the edifice of St. Peter's. In this church there are fifteen different pieces of his workmanship. The principal of these are the altar-piece and the tabernacle, the chair of St. Peter, the tombs of Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. the equestrian statue of Constantine, the colonade, consisting of three hundred and twenty vast pillars of freestone; and having on its flat roof eighty-six statues of saints twice as big as the life. He likewise designed the fountain in the square of Navonna, the church of St. Andrew of the noviciate of the Jesuits, which is esteemed a perfect model in architecture. In the year 1665, he was invited into France, to design the Louvre, and there he made an excellent bust of Henry IV. who rewarded his merit with an ample pension. He afterwards undertook an equestrian statue of that monarch, which did not answer expectation, and was converted into the representation of Curtius leaping into the gulph.

the sweets which talents diffuse through society, and the reputation which is annexed to them. Urban incorporated the dutchy of Urbino, Pesaro, and Sinigaglia, with the ecclesiastical state, after the extinction of the house of Rovere, which held these principalities in fee of the holy see. The dominion of the Roman pontiffs had received a continual increase of power ever since the time of Alexander VI. Nothing now troubled the public tranquility; for hardly any notice was taken of the little war which this pope Urban, or rather his nephews, made upon Edward duke of Parma, for the money which that duke owed the apostolic chamber for his dutchy of Castro. This war was but short, and attended with little bloodshed, such as might be expected from these new Romans, whose manners necessarily were in conformity to the spirit of their government. Cardinal Barberino, the author of these troubles, marched at the head of his little army, fraught with indulgencies. The sharpest battle which was fought was between four and five hundred men on each side. The fortress of Piegaja surrendered at discretion as soon as it saw the artillery approach; this artillery consisted of two culverins. Nevertheless, more negotiations were required to put an end to these trifling broils, which hardly deserve a place in history, than if the contest had concerned ancient Rome and Carthage. We mention this event only to give an insight into the genius of modern Rome, who ended all affairs by negotiation, as ancient Rome did by conquest.

The Romans employed their leisure time in ceremonials of religion and precedencies, the
arts,

arts, antiquities, public buildings, gardens, music, and assemblies, while a thirty years war ruined Germany, while England was bathed in the blood of its king and its natives, and while France was laid waste by the succeeding civil wars: but though Rome itself was thus happy in its tranquility, and famous by its noble munuments, the people were in the main miserable. The money which was expended in raising so many master-pieces of architecture returned to other nations, by its want of trade.

The popes were obliged to buy of foreigners all the corn wanted for the city, which they afterwards retailed out to the inhabitants. This custom continues to this day. There are some states who are enriched by luxury, and others who are impoverished by it. The magnificence of some of the cardinals, and the popes relations, served to make the indigence of the lower people more visible, who, nevertheless, at the sight of so many beautiful edifices, seemed to glory amidst their poverty, in being inhabitants of Rome.

Those who travelled to Rome to admire its curiosities, were surpris'd to find from Orvieto to Terracina, which is a tract of upwards of an hundred miles, only a desert country, destitute both of men and cattle. The *campagna di Roma* is indeed an uninhabitable country, infected with filthy marshes and standing pools, which the ancient Romans had dried up. Rome itself is situated on a barren spot, and on the banks of a river which is not navigable. Its situation between seven hills, is rather that of a den for wild beasts than a city. Its first wars
were

were the ravages of a people who had nothing to subsist upon but plunder; and when the dictator Camillus had taken Veii, in Umbria, some few leagues from Rome, all the people were for quitting their barren soil and their seven mountains to transplant themselves to the more fertile and pleasant country of Veii. The environs of Rome were afterwards made fertile only by the money of conquered nations, and the labour of an immense number of slaves. But this spot was covered with palaces instead of corn. At length it has resumed its former state, and is again become a desert country.

The papal see possessed several rich territories elsewhere, particularly that of Bologna. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, attributes the misery of the people in the best parts of this country to the taxes and the form of government. He pretends, with almost all other writers, that an elective prince, who reigns only a few years, has neither the power nor the will to form those useful establishments which require time to make them advantageous to a state. It has been found easier to raise obelisks and build palaces and temples than to make the nation trading and opulent. Rome, though the capital of the catholic world, was nevertheless more thinly peopled than Venice and Naples, far inferior to Paris and London in that respect, and did not come near to Amsterdam in opulence, or the useful arts, which produce riches. At the end of the seventeenth century it was computed that there were no more than one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants in Rome, according to the printed list of the families; and this computation was verified by
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the register of births. There were born one year with another three thousand six hundred children ; this number of births, multiplied by thirty-four, gives nearly the sum of the inhabitants, which here is found to amount to one hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred. There were about eight thousand Jews settled in Rome, who were not comprised in the above lists. These Jews have always lived peaceably both at Rome and Leghorn, without ever being subjected to those cruelties which have been exercised upon them in Spain and Portugal. There was no country in Europe where religion inspired so general a mildness of disposition as in Italy.

Rome was the centre of arts and politeness till the age of Lewis XIV. and this it was that determined queen Christina of Sweden to fix her residence there : but Italy was soon equalled in more than one branch by France, and far excelled in some others ; England was as much superior to her in the sciences as in commerce. Rome, however, preserved the reputation of its antiquities and fine works, for which it had been distinguished ever since the time of pope Julius II.

C H A P. CLVI.

Continuation of the State of ITALY in the
seventeenth Century.

TUSCANY, as being an ecclesiastical state, enjoyed ever since the thirteenth century a state of peace and tranquillity. Florence, the rival of Rome, drew as great a concourse of strangers, who came to admire the masterpieces of art, both ancient and modern, with which she abounded. There were an hundred and sixty public statues. The only two with which Paris was adorned, namely, that of Henry IV. and the horse which bears the statue of Lewis XIII. were cast at Florence, and were presents made by the grand dukes.

Tuscany became so flourishing by its trade, and its sovereigns so rich, that the grand duke Cosmo II. was able to send twenty thousand men to the assistance of the duke of Mantua, against the duke of Savoy, in 1613, without laying any tax upon his subjects; an example hardly to be found in the most powerful nations.

The city of Venice possessed a still more singular advantage; this was, that since the fourteenth century its internal quiet had not been disturbed for a single moment, the city was wholly exempt from any disorder, sedition, or alarms. Those strangers who went to Rome and Florence to see the noble monuments of the polite arts in those cities, were generally fond of making a visit to Venice, to enjoy the freedom and pleasures which reign there, and
where

where there are several excellent pieces of painting to amuse the curious, as well as at Rome. The liberal arts were cultivated with care, and the magnificent shews attracted strangers. Rome was the city of ceremonies, Venice the city of diversions. She had made peace with the Turks after the battle of Lepanto, and her trade, though fallen off, was still very considerable in the Levant. She was in possession of Candia and several other islands, of Istria, Dalmatia, a part of Albania, and all that she now has in Italy.

1618 In the midst of her prosperities this republic was on the point of being ruined by a conspiracy, the like of which had not been known since her first foundation. The abbot of St. Real, who has related this memorable event in a style worthy of Sallust, has embellished his narration with some romantic incidents; but the foundation is undoubtedly true. The Venetians had had a small war with the house of Austria on the coast of Istria. The Spanish king, Philip III. who was possessed of the dutchy of Milan, was always the secret enemy of this republic. The duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro of Toledo, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedemar, afterwards the cardinal de Cueva, Philip's ambassador at Venice, entered all three into a plot for totally destroying this state. The measures were so extraordinary, and the scheme so far exceeded probability, that the senate could not possibly conceive suspicion. Venice was guarded by its situation and the lagunes with which it was surrounded. The weeds and mud which are continually thrown upon these lagunes by

the sea, prevent vessels from ever entering twice by the same passage, so that it is necessary to point out a new one almost every day. The republic had a formidable fleet on the coast of Istria, where she was carrying on the war against the archduke of Austria, Ferdinand, who was afterwards the emperor Ferdinand II. It seemed impossible to get entrance into Venice, and yet the marquis of Bedemar found means to assemble a body of strangers in the city, the one drawn in by another, to the number of five hundred. These were all engaged under different pretences by the principal conspirators, who secured their services with the money furnished by the ambassador. They were to set fire to the city in several places at a time. The Milanese troops were to be brought over from the main land, and certain mariners who had been gained for that purpose, were to pilot a number of barks full of men, which the duke of Ossuna had taken care to send in readiness within a few leagues of the city. One of the conspirators, who was a naval officer in the republic's service, and commanded a squadron of twelve sail, undertook to burn all these ships, and by this extraordinary stroke prevent the rest of the fleet from coming in time to succour the city. The conspirators were all foreigners of different nations, and strangers to each other. It was therefore no wonder that the plot was discovered. The procurator Nani, a famous historiographer of this republic tells us, that the senate was informed of the whole conspiracy by several hands; but does not take the least notice of the pretended remorse with which one of the conspirators, called Jaffier, is said to have been seized, on hearing Re-

naud, their chief, harangue them for the last time, who painted the horrors of their intended enterprize in such lively colours, as struck Jaffier with dismay, instead of encouraging him. These kind of speeches are generally the inventions of the writers themselves, and therefore every one who reads history ought to distrust them. It is neither probable nor in the nature of things, that the head of a conspiracy should give his accomplices so pathetic a description of the horrors they were to encounter, or terrify the imaginations of those whom he ought to embolden. The senate ordered every one of the conspirators whom they could apprehend, to be instantly drowned in the canals of the city. They shewed some respect to Bedemar's character of ambassador, which they could not well infringe, and caused him to be privately conveyed out of the city, to save him from the fury of the populace*.

Venice, after escaping from this danger, continued in a flourishing condition till the taking of the islands of Candia. This republic sustained a war alone against the Turkish emperor for near thirty years, that is to say, from 1641 to 1669. The siege of Candia was the longest and most memorable that we find mentioned in history; it lasted near twenty years; sometimes turned into blockade, sometimes less vigorous, and in a manner given over; then renewed again at different times. At length it was carried on in form for two years and an half without remission, till at last this heap of

* This is the incident on which Otway founded his tragedy of *Venice Preserved*.

ashes, together with all the rest of the island, was surrendered to the Turks, in 1669.

How slowly, and with what difficulty is human nature civilized, and society improved! The Venetians, who dwelt almost at the gates of Italy, where all the arts were held in the highest estimation, were a people almost as unpolished as those of the north at that time. Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, were in a manner barbarous, and yet this was the very Dalmatia, which under the Roman empire was so fruitful and agreeable a country; the delicious spot which Dioclesian chose for his retreat, at a time when neither the city or name of Venice existed. Such is the vicissitude of human things. The Morlacks were the most savage people upon earth. In like manner Sardinia and Corsica had not the least tincture of the manners or improved genius for which the Italians were so distinguished. It was with Italy as with ancient Greece, who in the height of her politeness and glory had savage nations inhabiting on her borders.

OF MALTA.

THE knights of Malta maintained themselves in this island, which had been given them by the emperor Charles V. after that they had been driven out of Rhodes by sultan Solymán in 1523. At that time the grand master of the order, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, with his knights and the few Rhodians who were attached to them, were wanderers from city to city, at Messina, Gallipoli, at Rome, and at Viterbo. L'Isle-Adam made a journey to Ma-

drid, to implore the assistance of Charles V. From thence he travelled into France and England, endeavouring to collect together the scattered remains of his order, which was thought to be entirely ruined. Charles V. made these knights a present of the island of Malta in 1525, together with Tripoli; but Tripoli was soon taken from them again by Solymán's admirals. Malta was only a barren rock. The soil seemed to have been made fruitful formerly by great labour, when the Carthaginians were in possession of this island; for the new possessors found the ruins of several columns and grand buildings of marble, with inscriptions in the Punic language. These remains of grandeur were proofs that it had once been a flourishing country. The Romans did not think it unworthy of their notice when they took it from the Carthaginians. The Moors became masters of it in the ninth century, and Roger the Norman, count of Sicily, annexed it to that island towards the end of the twelfth century. When Villiers L'Isle-Adam removed the seat of his order to this island, the aforementioned sultan Solymán, enraged to see his ships still exposed to the attacks of those enemies whom he thought he had rooted out, resolved to make the conquest of Malta, as he had done that of Rhodes, and sent an army of thirty thousand men to lay siege to this small place, which was defended only by seven hundred knights, and about 1565 eight thousand foreign soldiers. John de la Valette, then grand master, who was seventy-one years old, sustained a siege of four months.

The Turks assaulted the town in several places at once; but were always repulsed by a machine of a new invention, formed of great wooden hoops, covered with woollen cloths, dipt in spirits of wine, oil, salt-petre, and gun-powder; these hoops were set on fire, and thrown all flaming into the midst of the assailants. At length a reinforcement of six thousand men being sent from Sicily to their assistance, the Turks were obliged to raise the siege. The principal town of Malta, which had withstood the most assaults, was called the *victorious town*, which name it still preserves. The grand master de la Valette ordered a new citadel to be built, which is, after him, called La Valette, and has made Malta impregnable.

This small island has ever since bid defiance to all the Ottoman force; but the order hath never been rich enough to attempt great conquests, or fit out numerous fleets. This convent of warriors subsists chiefly upon the rents of those benefices it possesses in the catholic states, and hath not been able to do near the same hurt to the Turks, that the Algerine corsairs have to the Christians.

CHAP. CLVII.

Of HOLLAND in the seventeenth Century.

HOLLAND is so much the more deserving of our attention, as it is entirely a new kind of state, which hath become powerful without possessing hardly any territories, rich, without having a revenue sufficient to maintain the twentieth part of its inhabitants, and considerable in Europe by its labours at the farther end of Asia.

You have seen this republic recognized as a free and sovereign state by its former master the king of Spain, after having purchased its liberty by a forty years war. Labour and sobriety were the principal guardians of this liberty. It is said, that as the marquis of Spinola and the president Richardot, were going to the Hague in 1608, to negotiate the first truce with the Hollanders, they saw on their way eight or ten persons come on shore out of a boat, who, sitting down on the grass, made a plentiful meal upon bread, butter, cheese, and a draught of beer, each of them carrying his own provision with him. The Spanish ambassadors asking a countryman who these travellers were, the countryman answered, "They are the deputies of our sovereign lords and masters, the states." Upon which the ambassadors cried out, "These people are never to be conquered; we must make peace with them." This is nearly the same thing as is said to have happened between the king of Persia's ambassadors

dors and those of the Lacedemonians. The same manners might have produced a repetition of the same adventure. At that time the individuals of these provinces were poor, and the state rich; whereas, of late times, the inhabitants are become wealthy, and the state poor. The reason is, that then the first fruits of commerce were set apart for the defence of the community.

The Dutch were not then in possession either of the Cape of Good Hope, which they took from the Portuguese in 1653, of Cochin and its dependencies, nor of Molucca. They had no direct trade to China, and that of Japan, of which they are now the masters, was prohibited them till the year 1609, by the Portuguese, or rather by the Spaniards, who were still masters of Portugal. But they had already made the conquest of the Molucca islands, and had begun to form settlements in Java; and their East India company had more than doubled its capital from the year 1602, to 1609. The Siamese had already in 1608, paid the same honours to these trading people by their ambassadors, as they did afterwards to Lewis XIV. Ambassadors also arrived at the Hague from Japan, in 1609, to settle a treaty of commerce. The emperor of Fez and Morocco sent to desire of them a supply of men and ships. In the space of forty years they made a surprising addition to their reputation by commerce and war.

The mildness of this government, and the toleration of all kinds of worship, which might be dangerous perhaps, but was nevertheless necessary, peopled Holland with a croud of foreigners, especially Wallocons, who were per-

secuted by the inquisition in their own country, and who from slaves that they were at home, became free citizens in this nation.

The Calvinistical religion, which was the reigning one in Holland, was another means of encreasing its power. This country, at that time so poor, could neither have furnished wherewithal to support the magnificence of prelates, nor to maintain religious orders; and a land which wanted men to defend it, could ill afford to harbour those who engage themselves by oath to suffer as far as in them lies all the human species to perish. They had the example of England before them, which was become a third part more populous, since the clergy had been permitted to enjoy the comforts of matrimony; and that the hopes of whole families were no longer buried within the barren confines of a cloister.

Amsterdam, notwithstanding the inconveniences of its harbour, became the magazine of the world. All Holland was embellished and enriched by immense works. The waters of the ocean were confined by double dykes. Vast canals were cut through all the towns in beds of stone, and the streets formed large quays, ornamented with rows of tall trees. The boats unloaded their merchandize at the doors of the inhabitants; and strangers are never weary of admiring the singular medley formed by the roofs of houses, the branches of trees, and the streamers of shipping, which at one time, and in the same place, present a view of the sea, the town, and the country.

But

But so strangely is evil blended with good, and so apt are men to wander wide of their first principles, that this republic was on the point of destroying with her own hands that liberty for which she had so long and bravely fought; and persecution carried bloodshed among a people, whose happiness and laws were founded on toleration. Two Calvinistical teachers did that which so many other teachers have done. Gomar and Arminius disputed in Leyden with the utmost fury on points which neither of them understood, and by their disagreement sowed dissension among the United Provinces. This dispute resembled in several points that between the Thomists and Scotists, the Jansenists and Molinists, about predestination, grace, free-will, and other dark and idle questions, where the parties themselves can hardly define the things about which they dispute. The leisure and inaction which followed upon the conclusion of the truce, gave the ignorant people an unhappy opportunity of filling their heads with these disputes; and, at length, from a scholastic controversy, two parties were formed in the state.

Maurice, prince of Orange, was at the head of the Gomarians; and the pensionary, Barneveldt, sided with the Arminians. Du Maurier says, that he was told by his father the ambassador, that Maurice having solicited the pensionary for his concurrence in conferring an absolute authority on the stadtholder, that zealous republican answered him only by setting forth the danger and injustice of such a project, and that from that instant Barneveldt's ruin was resolved upon. It is an acknowledged truth

that the stadtholder had in view to enlarge his own authority by means of the Gomarians, and that Barnevelt on the other side endeavoured to curb it by the Arminians; that several cities raised soldiers, who were called attendants, because they waited for their orders from the magistracy, and would not take them from the stadtholder; that there were several seditions attended with bloodshed in many of the towns; and lastly, that prince Maurice set no bounds to his persecution of those who resisted his authority.

1618 At length he ordered a Calvinistical council to be assembled at Dordrecht, composed of deputies from all the reformed churches in Europe, excepting that of France, whose sovereign would not permit it to send deputies. The fathers of this synod, who had exclaimed so vehemently against the rigour of the fathers of several other councils, and even disputed their authority, condemned the Arians in the same manner as they themselves had been condemned by the council of Trent. Upwards of an hundred Arian ministers were banished the republic's territories. Prince Maurice chose twenty-six commissioners from the body of the nobility and magistracy to try the grand pensionary Barnevelt, the famous Grotius, and others of their party. They were kept six months in prison, before they were brought to their trials.

One of the principal motives of the first revolt of the seven provinces and the princes of Orange against Spain was, that the duke of Alva had suffered several persons to languish in confinement without bringing them to trial, and
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afterwards caused them to be condemned by commissioners. The same oppressions which had been complained of under the Spanish monarchy, were now revived in the very bosom of liberty. Barnevelt was beheaded * at the Hague, and suffered more unjustly than even the counts of Egmont and Horne, 1619 at Brussels. He was a venerable old man of seventy, who had served his country for upwards of fifty years in the cabinet, with as much success as Maurice and his brothers had done in the field. He was sentenced for "having

* John Olden Barnevelt, advocate-general and pensioner of the states of Holland, was a venerable patriot, who had rendered the most important services to his country; and in particular effected the truce for twelve years, between the archduke and the states-general, commencing in 1609. This was the real source of that resentment afterwards manifested against him by Maurice prince of Orange, who sought the gratification of his ambition in his endeavours to protract the war, when the people of Holland were divided by the dispute upon predestination, which had arisen between Arminius and Gomar, two protestant ministers belonging to the republic. Barnevelt declared for the disciples of the former, chiefly because all they asked was a toleration; whereas the Gomarians would not grant them that indulgence. The prince of Orange was at the head of these last, who carried their point in the synod of Dordrecht, where the Arminians were condemned. Barnevelt was beheaded at the age of 72, on pretence of having harboured a design of betraying his country to the Spaniards; a design which he constantly denied with his last breath; a design of which no proof was adduced; a design diametrically opposite to the whole tenour of his former conduct. His death was publicly regretted by the prince of Orange, who did not scruple to declare that prince Maurice and the whole family of Nassau ought to have honoured Barnevelt as their father, on account of the great services he had done their country.

done his utmost to aggrieve God's church." Grotius †, who was afterwards ambassador from Sweden to France, and still more illustrious by his writings than his embassy, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from whence his wife by great resolution and good fortune delivered him. This act of oppression gave birth to conspiracies, which brought on fresh punishments. One of Barnevelt's sons resolved to revenge his father's death upon Maurice. The plot was discovered, and his accomplices, the principal of whom was an Arminian minister, 1623 were all put to death by the hands of the public executioner. Barnevelt's son had the good fortune to escape while they were busied in apprehending the rest of the conspirators: but his younger brother lost his head only for having been privy to the conspiracy. De Thou suffered death in France for the very same cause. The condemnation of young Barnevelt was much more cruel; it was indeed the height of injustice to put him to death, because he would not turn informer against his

† This was the celebrated Hugo Grotius, advocate-general of Holland, syndic of Rotterdam, and the fast friend of Barneveldt. Being confined in the castle of Louvenstein, his wife obtained permission to supply him with some cloaths, which she conveyed to him in a great chest. In this he was inclosed and carried out of the castle without suspicion. He retired to France, where he received a pension from Lewis XIII. and afterwards engaged in the service of Christina, queen of Sweden. He left a great many works both in verse and prose. Among his writings that are most esteemed, we number his *Mare liberum*, in answer to the *Mare clausum* of Selden; *De Jure Belli ac Pacis libri tres*; *de antiquitate reipublicæ Bataviæ*; *de imperio summærum potestatum circa sacra*; *et annales historici de rebus Belgicis*.

own brother. Had these times of cruelties and horror lasted, the free Hollanders would have been much more miserable than their enslaved ancestors, under the duke of Alva.

Amsterdam, though full of Gomarians, always favoured the Arminians, and adopted the plan of toleration. The ambition and cruelty of prince Maurice left a deep wound in the hearts of the Dutch; and the remembrance of Barneveldt's death did not a little contribute towards their excluding from the stadtholdership the young prince of Orange, William III. who was afterwards king of England. He was only an infant in his cradle when the grand pensionary De Wit stipulated, in the treaty of peace which the states general made with Cromwell in 1653, that there should be no stadtholder for the future in Holland. Cromwell still continued to persecute Charles I. in this his infant grandson, and the grand pensionary, De Wit, revenged the blood of a pensionary. This proceeding of De Wit's proved in the end the cause of his own fatal end, and that of his brother: but these were almost the only bloody catastrophes occasioned in Holland by the struggle between liberty and ambition.

Notwithstanding these disturbances at home, the East India company built Batavia in 1618, in spite of the opposition they met with from the kings of the country, and the English, who came to attack their new settlement. Holland, which is itself a marshy and barren country in many parts, formed a new kingdom within five degrees of the line, and in the most fertile spot in the globe, where the fields are covered with rice, pepper, cinnamon, and vines, that

bear twice a-year. It has since made itself master of Bantam, in the same island, after driving the English from thence. This company alone has eight great governments in the East Indies, including the Cape of Good Hope, (though it is properly the farthest point of Africa) an important place which they took from the Portuguese in the year 1653.

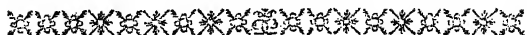
While the Dutch were thus forming settlements at the extremities of the East, they began to extend their conquests westward in America, after the expiration of the twelve years truce they had made with Spain. The West India company possessed itself of almost all the Brazils between the years 1623 and 1636. It is amazing to see, in the registers of this company, that in so short a space of time it fitted out eight hundred sail of ships, partly men of war and partly merchantmen, and took five hundred and forty-five vessels from the Spaniards. This company was at that time much superior to the East India one; but afterwards when Portugal had thrown off the Spanish yoke, that nation defended its possessions better than the Dutch, and recovered the Brazils from them, where it found a new source of riches.

1628 The most profitable of all the Dutch expeditions was that of their admiral Peter Hein, who took the whole fleet of Spanish galleons, returning home from the Havannah, and by that one cruise brought back upwards of twenty millions to his country. The treasures of the new world, which had been conquered by the Spaniards, served to strengthen the hands of their old subjects against them, who were now become their most formidable

ene-

enemies. The republic carried on this war during eighty years, (if we except the twelve years truce) in the Netherlands, in the East Indies, and in the new world, and was sufficiently powerful to secure an advantageous peace to herself at Munster in 1647, independent of France, her ally and old protector, without whom she had promised to make no treaty. Soon afterwards, viz. in 1652 and the following years, she ventured to break with her allies the English: she had as powerful a fleet, and her admiral, Tromp, disputed the sovereignty of the sea with the famous admiral Blake, till he was slain in an engagement. She afterwards sent succours to the king of Denmark, when besieged in his capital of Copenhagen by Charles X. of Sweden. Her fleet, commanded by admiral Opdam, beat the Swedish fleet, and delivered Copenhagen. She declared war against the English, to whom she was always a rival in trade, in the reign of Charles II. as she had formerly done with Cromwell, though with far greater success. In 1668, she became the arbiter of crowned heads, and obliged Lewis XIV. to make peace with Spain. This same republic, who had been hitherto so closely connected with France, has from that time to the end of the seventeenth century supported Spain against France. She has a long time been one of the principal parties in the affairs of Europe. She has fallen and rose again; and at last, though considerably weakened, she subsists wholly by her trade, which was her first foundation, without having made any conquests in Europe, excepting that of Maastricht, a very small and bad country, which only serves as a defence to
her

her frontiers: she has not enlarged her dominions since the peace of Munster, in which respect she more nearly resembles the ancient republic of Tyre, whose power lay solely in its trade, than that of Carthage, who had such numerous possessions in America; or Venice, who had too great an extent of territories on the main land.



C H A P. CLVIII.

OF DENMARK, SWEDEN, and POLAND, in the seventeenth Century.

YOU have not seen Denmark entering into the system of Europe in the sixteenth century. Nothing memorable had happened to draw the eyes of other nations on it, since the deposition of the tyrant Christian II. This kingdom, which is composed of Denmark and Norway, was a long time governed nearly in the same manner as that of Poland: it was an aristocracy, of which an elective king was president. This was the ancient form of government in almost all Europe. But in the year 1660*, the assembly of the estates conferred the hereditary

* It is surprising that our author should dwell so little on an event which stands single in the records of history. At the end of a war which had desolated the country, the estates were assembled to deliberate upon the present condition of the kingdom, and contrive means for raising money to pay the army and repair the fleet. The noblest proposed

hereditary right of succession, and absolute sovereign power, on king Frederic III. Denmark then became the only kingdom in the world where the people had established arbitrary power by their own solemn act. Norway,

posed a tax upon the consumption of different species, under such provisos and restrictions, that they themselves must have been, in a great measure, exempted from the burden, which would have fallen chiefly upon the inhabitants of cities and towns. The clergy, as the third estate, exasperated at this scheme, proposed in their turn, that the fiefs of the crown, which the noblesse enjoyed upon very easy terms, should be farmed to the best bidders. A violent dispute ensued, and the two parties were greatly irritated against each other. Swan, bishop of Seelund, and Nansen, burgomaster of Copenhagen, were the persons who prevailed upon the clergy and the third estate, to subscribe a declaration, that the crown should be rendered hereditary in the present royal family. This they transmitted to the noblesse for their concurrence. The nobles wanted to treat with the king, that he should be satisfied with the succession established in the male line of his family; a proposal which he rejected. The other two orders, finding the noblesse averse to their design, waited in a body on the king with this deed, which rendered the crown hereditary in his house: he thanked them for their good will, but declared he could not accept the offer without the concurrence of the nobility, who now endeavoured to break up the diet and retire from the city. The gates were immediately shut, and in two days they complied. The capitulation that limited the royal authority was restored to the king, and all the three orders took the oath of allegiance anew. These transactions happened in the month of October; and on the tenth day of January, each order, separately, delivered to the king an authentic act, by which they rendered the crown hereditary to his heirs whatsoever, either male or female; conferred upon him absolute power, not only in governing the state, but also in regulating the succession and regency. These three instruments, signed and sealed by all the members of the diet, are preserved in the archives of the kingdom.

though

though a country six hundred leagues in length, made no addition of power to the state; a territory of barren rocks could not be much peopled. The islands which compose Denmark are more fertile; but they had not then drawn the same advantages from them as they have since. It was little imagined at that time that the Danes would have an East-India company, and a settlement at Tranquebar; or that their king would be able to maintain a fleet of thirty men of war, and an army of five thousand men. Governments, like men, are long in forming. The spirit of trade, industry, and œconomy, is communicating from one to another. I shall not here speak of the wars in which Denmark was so frequently engaged with its neighbours the Swedes: they have left few memorable traces behind them; and you will be better pleased to remark the manners and form of governments, than to enter into a detail of murders, which have produced no events worthy the attention of posterity.

The kings of Sweden were not despotic more than those of Denmark, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The four estates, composed of one thousand gentlemen, one hundred clergy, one hundred and fifty burghers, and about two hundred and fifty peasants, made all the laws of the kingdom. They were not acquainted here, any more than in Denmark, or the rest of the northern kingdoms, with the titles of marquis, count, and baron, so common in the other European nations. King Eric, son to Gustavus Vasa, was the first who introduced them into Sweden, in the year 1561. This Eric, however, was far from
being

being an absolute monarch; and he left the world an example of the misfortunes which may attend the desire of being despotic, without the power of being so. The son of the deliverer of Sweden was accused of divers crimes before the assembly of the states, and unanimously deposed, as Christian II. had 1569 been in Denmark. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and his crown given to his brother John.

As your principal design in this multitude of events is to direct your attention to those which depend on the manners and spirit of the times, it will be necessary to understand, that king John, who was a catholic, fearing that the partizans of the late king should rescue him from his confinement, and replace him on the throne, openly sent him poison, in the same manner as the sultan sends the bow-string, and ordered him to be solemnly interred with his face uncovered, that no person might be ignorant of his death, and that no one should afterwards make use of his name to set up a new title to the throne.

The Jesuit Possevinus, who was sent by pope Gregory XIII. into Sweden, 1580 and all the North in quality of nuncio, inflicted as a penance on king John for this murder, to eat only one meal on Wednesdays; a penance which was turned into ridicule, but serves to shew that some expiation was necessary. King Eric had been punished much more rigorously for his crimes.

Neither king John nor the nuncio Possevinus could succeed in establishing the catholic religion in Sweden. John, who was not pleased with

with Lutheranism, endeavoured to introduce the Greek communion, but with no better success. This prince had some tincture of learning, and was almost the only person in his kingdom who meddled with controversy. There was an university at Upsal; but it was reduced only to two or three professors, without any students. The nation was unacquainted with any thing but arms; and yet it had made little or no progress in the military art. They had not began to use artillery till the time of Gustavus Vasa; the other arts were so wholly unknown among them, that when king John fell ill in 1592, he died before they could find a physician; contrary to all other kings, who are frequently surrounded with too many. There was not then either a physician or surgeon in all Sweden; only a few grocers who sold medicinal drugs, which they administered at hazard. This was the custom through almost all the North. Mankind were so far from being exposed in that country to an abuse of the arts, that they did not even know how to procure themselves the necessary ones.

Nevertheless, Sweden might at that time have become very powerful. Sigismund, son of this king John, had been elected king of Poland, eight years before the death of his father. The Swedes then got possession of Finland and Esthonia. Sigismund, now king
1600 of Sweden and Poland, might have conquered all Muscovy, which was at that time in no posture of defence; but Sigismund was a catholic, and his Swedish subjects Lutherans, so that he made no conquests; and at length lost the crown of Sweden. The same estates who had

had deposed his uncle Eric, deposed him also; and declared another of his uncles king in his stead: this was Charles IX. father to the great Gustavus Adolphus. All these 1604 events did not happen without commotions, wars, and conspiracies, which ever attend such changes. Charles IX. was regarded only as an usurper by the princes who were allies to Sigismund; but the Swedes considered him as their lawful sovereign.

Gustavus Adolphus, his son, succeeded him without any obstacle, when he 1611 was not full eighteen years of age; which is the time limited for the majority of the kings of Sweden and Denmark, as well as that of the princes of the empire. The Swedes were not then in possession of Scania, one of the finest of their provinces, it having been ceded to the Danes ever since the fourteenth century; so that the kingdom of Sweden was almost always the theatre of all the wars between the Swedes and Danes. The first thing which Gustavus Adolphus did was to make an incursion into Scania, but he could never recover it. His first wars proved very unsuccessful, and he was obliged to make peace with Denmark. But so great was his inclination to war, that he marched to attack the Muscovites 1613 beyond Narva, as soon as he was free of the Danes. He afterwards fell upon Livo- 1620 nia, which belonged to the Poles, and attacking his cousin Sigismund every where, he penetrated into Livonia. The emperor, Ferdinand II. who was Sigismund's ally, and feared the rising power of young Gustavus, sent a body of troops against him. By this we may

may judge, that the French ministry had no great difficulty in persuading Gustavus to invade Germany*. This warrior king made a truce with Sigismund and the Poles; during which he kept his conquests. You know how he shook the throne of Ferdinand II. and how he died in the flower of his age, and in the midst of his victories†.

1632 His daughter, Christina, no less famous than himself, after a reign as glorious as that of her father, after having fought battles and presided in the treaty of Westphalia, which restored peace to Germany, to the amazement of all Europe, abdicated her crown at the age of twenty-seven. Puffendorff says, that she was obliged to resign the government; but at the same time he owns, that when that princess communicated her resolution for the first time to the senate, in 1651, the senators, with tears in their eyes, intreated her not to leave the kingdom: that nevertheless, she persisted in her contempt of the throne, and having assembled the estates, she quit-
May 21, 1654. ted Sweden, deaf to the prayers and intreaties of her subjects. She

had never appeared incapable of supporting the weight of a crown, but she was fond of the polite arts. Had she been a queen in Italy, she would never have abdicated. This is the greatest example we have of the real superiority of the arts, of politeness, and of social perfection, over mere nominal greatness.

* Vol. v. Chap. cxlviii.

† Ibid.

Her cousin, Charles X. duke of Deux-Ponts, was chosen her successor by the estates. This prince was wholly devoted to war. He marched into Poland, and conquered it with the same rapidity as we have since seen his grandson, Charles XII. subdue it; and he lost it in the same manner. The Danes, who were then the defenders of Poland, as being constant enemies to the Swedes, fell upon Sweden; but Charles X. though driven out of Poland, marched over the sea upon the ice, from island to island, and appeared before Copenhagen. This prodigious undertaking brought about a peace; by which Scania was restored to Sweden, after having been kept from it for above three centuries.

His son, Charles XI. was the first absolute king of Sweden, and his grandson, Charles XII. was the last. I shall here observe only one thing, which shews how much the spirit of government has changed in the North, and how long a time it required to bring about this change. It was not till after the death of Charles XII. that the Swedes, who had hitherto been wholly devoted to arms, addicted themselves to agriculture and commerce, so far as an ungrateful soil and the mediocrity of their riches would permit them. They have since had an East-India company; and their steel, which they formerly used only for fighting, has since been transported in their ships from the port of Gottenburgh to the southern provinces of Mogulstan and China.

Poland was the only country in the world, which, joining the name of republic with that of monarchy, always chose a foreigner for their king,

king*, as the Venetians do for the general of their army. It is likewise the only kingdom which has not been actuated by the spirit of conquest, being wholly occupied in defending its frontiers against the incursions of the Turks and Muscovites.

The catholic and protestant factions, which had disturbed so many states, at length made their way into this nation. The protestants were in so much credit, as to procure an edict,

* Our author surely cannot mean that Poland was always governed by a foreign prince, inasmuch as king Stanislaus, still alive, John Sobieski, Michael Koribut, Wiwesnowski, John Casimir, and many other princes who reigned in that kingdom, were natives of Poland. The crown is indeed elective, and the king at his election is obliged to promise upon oath, that he will inviolably observe the *pacta conventa*, or capitulation tendered to him by order of the senate and nobility. The principal articles of this agreement are these: "That the king shall not appoint his successor: that he shall leave to the republic the right of coining money: that he shall not declare war against any prince or state whatsoever, without the consent of the republic: that he shall admit no foreigners into his council, nor confer upon them any office, dignity, or government: that he shall not marry but according to the ancient laws, with the consent of the senate: that for the maintenance of his table, he shall have no royal demesnes but such as the republic granted to the kings his predecessors: that with the advice of his council, he shall regulate the forces of the republic in such a manner, that it shall never have occasion for foreign auxiliaries: that he shall not in any shape diminish, but on the contrary, augment the treasure at Cracovia: that he shall borrow no money, but with the consent of the republic: that should the necessities of the state ever require a naval force, he shall not have power to raise it, but with the consent of the nobility, and by the advice of the senate.

granting

granting them liberty of conscience †, in 1587; and their party was become so strong, that the pope's nuncio, Annibal of Capua, employed them only to endeavour to place the crown of Poland on the head of the archduke Maximilian, brother to the emperor Rodolph II. Accordingly the protestant faction actually elected the archduke, while the opposite faction chose the Swedish prince Sigismund, grandson to Gustavus Vasa, of whom we have already spoken. Sigismund should have been king of Sweden, had the rights of succession taken place; but you have already seen that the throne of Sweden was at the disposal of the estates. And he was so far from reigning there, that his nephew, Gustavus Adolphus, was on the point of driving him from the throne of Poland, and laid aside his design only to march into Germany, in order to dethrone the emperor.

It is an astonishing thing that the Swedes should have so often over-run Poland as conquerors, and that the Turks, who are so much more powerful, should never have penetrated far beyond the borders of that kingdom. Sultan Osman attacked the Poles with an army of two hundred thousand men in Sigismund's time, on the side of Moldavia. The Cossacks, who were the only people then connected with the republic, and who were under its protection, by the obstinate resistance they made, rendered the Turkish invasion fruitless. What must we

† The king is obliged by his coronation oath, to tolerate Lutheranism in Polish Prussia, where there are also some Calvinists. Poland abounds also with Jews, to whom particular privileges are granted.

conclude from the ill success of so powerful an armament, unless that the sultan's generals did not know how to make war?

1632 Sigismund died in the same year with Gustavus Adolphus. His son, Ladislaus, who succeeded him, saw the beginning of the fatal defection of these Cossacks, who had been so long the bulwarks of the republic, and now gave their service either to the Turks or the Russians. These people, whom we must distinguish from the Cossacks of the Tanais*, inhabit the borders of the Boristhenes†. Their lives are, in every respect, like those of the ancient Scythians, and of the Tartars, who border on the Black Sea. All this part of the world, to the north-east of Europe, was then in a savage state. It was the exact image of the pretended heroic ages, when mankind were contented with the necessaries of life, and pillaged these necessaries from their neighbours. The Polish nobles in the palatinates, which bordered upon the Ukraine, wanted to treat the Cossacks as their vassals, that is to say, their bondmen: upon which the whole nation, who had no other possessions but their liberty,

* Or Don, by the ancients reckoned one of the most famous rivers in the world, and the boundary between Europe and Asia; it issues from St. John's Lake, and after uniting with the Sosna, continues a long course, till it divides itself into three arms, and falls into the Palus Mæotis below Asoph.

† Or Nieper, one of the largest rivers in Europe, it has its source in a morass in the Walshouikei forest, runs in a great many windings through Lithuania, and empties itself into the Black sea, between Oczakow and Kilburn. It has thirteen cataracts within a small distance.

revolted to a man; and for a long time committed horrid depredations on the territories of Poland. These Cossacks were of the Greek church; another strong reason to make them irreconcilable enemies to the Poles. Part of them acknowledged the Russians for their masters and part the Turks, on condition of still enjoying their liberty, or rather anarchy. They still preserve the little religion they have amongst them, which was that of the Greek church, but are now almost wholly deprived of their liberty by the Russian empire; who, since it has of late years been civilized itself, has attempted to civilize them also.

King Ladislaus died without leaving any issue by his wife, Maria Louisa de Gonzaga, the same who was in love with Cing-Mars, master of the horse to Lewis XIII. of France*. Ladislaus had two brothers, both in holy orders; the one, called John Casimir, was a jesuit and a cardinal; the other bishop of Breslau and Kiow. The cardinal and the bishop disputed the throne with each other. Casimir 1648 was at length elected, who sent back his cardinal's hat to the pope, and took the crown in its stead. But after having been spectator, for upwards of twenty years, of the desolation of his kingdom, by factions at home, and by the incursions of Charles X. king of Sweden, and those of the Muscovites and Cossacks; he, following the example of queen Christina, abdicated the throne, but with far less glory, and retired to Paris, where he 1687 died abbot of St. Germain des Prés.

* See Chap. cxlvi. Vol. V.

Poland was not more happy under his successor Michael Coribut. All that she lost at different times would form an immense kingdom. The Swedes had taken Livonia, which the Russians still continue in possession of, together with the duchy of Courland. The Russians themselves, after having stripped it of the provinces of Pleskou and Smolenskou, made themselves masters of almost all Kiow and the Ukraine. The Turks took Podolia and Volhinia in the reign of this Michael. In fine, Poland could not support itself but by becoming tributary to the Ottoman Porte. The grand marechal of the crown, John Sobieski, washed out this stain, indeed, in the blood of the Turks, at the battle of Chokzim*: this famous battle

* This battle, which was fought November 11, in the year 1673, at Chockzim on the Niefter, by the frontier of Moldavia, continued three days successively. The Turks are said to have lost eight thousand Janissaries, and more than double that number of Spahis. They were afterwards worsted in several engagements, by Sobieski, and obliged to sue for peace, which was concluded at Zurowna. In the year 1674, he was elevated to the throne of Poland, notwithstanding the opposition of the emperor Leopold, who endeavoured to procure the crown for prince Charles of Lorrain. In the year 1683, the grand visier, Kara Mustapha, entered Hungary at the head of two hundred and forty thousand men, defeated the prince of Lorrain, at the passage of the Raab, and undertook the siege of Vienna. Sobieski, understanding that the city was reduced to extremity, generously forgot the ill offices he had sustained at the hands of the emperor, and marched with a considerable army to his assistance. Being joined by the imperial army, under the duke of Lorrain, and by the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, at the head of their respective troops, he gave battle to the Turks, and routed them with great slaughter.

Vienna

battle delivered Poland from its tribute, and placed the crown on Sobieski's head. But certainly this victory was neither so fatal to the Turks, nor so decisive as was said, seeing that they still continued to keep possession of Podolia and a part of the Ukraine, with the important fortress of Kaminiak, which they had taken. It is true, that when Sobieski came to be king, he rendered his name immortal by the delivery of Vienna, but he could never recover Kaminiak; and the Turks kept it till after his death, when they restored it at the peace of Carlowitz, in 1699.

Poland, amidst all its commotions, never suffered a change in its manners, its government, or its laws; nor became either richer or poorer: but for want of a perfect military discipline, which the czar Peter had, through the assistance of foreigners, found means to introduce amongst his subjects, and which proved so infinitely advantageous to his kingdom, it has happened that the Russians, who were so long held in contempt by the Poles, have obliged them to receive a king of their nomination; and that ten thousand Russians have imposed laws on the assembly of the Polish nobility.

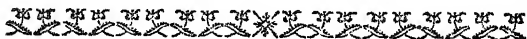
As to religion, it occasioned very little disturbance in this part of the world. The Unitarians had for some time churches in Poland

Vienna being thus relieved, he pursued the enemy to Barkau, where, though at first he met with a check, owing to the impetuosity of his courage, he next day renewed the attack with such vigour, that the Turks were entirely defeated. In consequence of this victory, he relieved Barkau, Gran, and Strigonia,

and Lithuania, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. These Unitarians, who were sometimes called Socinians, sometimes Arians, pretended to defend the cause of the deity himself, by considering him as one sole incommunicable being, who had no son but by adoption. This was not entirely the doctrine of the ancient Eusebians. They pretended to restore upon earth the purity of the primitive ages of christianity, renouncing all civil offices, and the profession of arms. Subjects, who made a scruple of conscience of fighting, did not seem very well adapted for a country that was incessantly in arms against the Turks. Nevertheless, this religion continued to flourish in Poland till the year 1658*, when it was prohibited, because it was found that these sectaries, who had renounced arms, had not renounced intrigues. They had entered into a league with Ragotski, prince of Transilvania, at that time an enemy to the republic. However, they still continue in great numbers in Poland, tho' they are not allowed to make an open profession of their opinion.

* *Faufus Socinus* resided in this nation, and his disciples became very numerous; but they were restrained by an edict, in the reign of John Casimir; and John Sobieski expelled them from the kingdom, for having published a book, entitled, *Tormentum trinitatem throno deturbans*. *Socinus* denied the pre-existence of the word, and considered Jesus Christ as no other than a mere man. He maintained that the Holy Ghost was not a distinct person, and that the father alone was truly and properly God. He rejected the doctrines of the redemption, of original sin, grace, and predestination; and affirmed that the sacraments were simple ceremonies without efficacy.

The orator Maimbourg, pretends that they fled over to Holland, "where, says he, every religion is tolerated but that of the church of Rome." The orator is greatly mistaken in this article, as he is in many others. The Roman catholics are so far tolerated in the United Provinces, that they make almost two thirds of the nation; whereas the Unitarians or Socinians never had any public place of divine worship there. This religion has spread itself privately in Holland, Transylvania, Silesia, Poland, and England; more especially in the latter. It may be reckoned among the many revolutions of the human mind, that this religion, which reigned in the church for three centuries and an half after Constantine, should be revived again in Europe within these two centuries, and spread itself over so many provinces, and yet not have a single temple in any one part of the world. It seems as if christians were afraid to admit into their communion a sect, which formerly triumphed for so long a time over all other communions.



CHAP. CLIX.

Of RUSSIA in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

WE did not at this time give the name of Russia to Muscovy, and we had but a vague idea of this country; the city of Moscow being better known in Europe than the rest of this vast empire, it was thence called

Muscovy. Its sovereign takes the title of emperor of all the Russias, because there are several provinces of this same name, which either belong to him, or to which he has some pretensions; viz. White Russia, in which is the capital of Moscow, and is the old territory of the Roxelans; Black Russia*, a part of which, towards Lithuania, belongs to the Poles; and Red Russia, which is to the westward of the Boristhenes.

The form of government in Muscovy, or Russia, in the sixteenth century, was nearly the same with that of Poland. The Boiars, like the Polish nobles, reckoned their riches by the number of inhabitants on their lands. The husbandmen were all their slaves. The czars were frequently chosen by the Boiars; but the czar likewise as frequently nominated his own successor, which the kings of Poland never did. The use of artillery was very little known in this part of the world in the sixteenth century, and they were entire strangers to military discipline: every Boiar brought his peasants with him to the place of rendezvous for the troops, and armed them with arrows, sabres, wooden poles tipped with steel, in the form of pikes, and a few muskets. They had no field operations, no magazines, no hospitals; their only method of making war was by incursions, and when there was nothing more to plunder, the Russian boiar, the Polish starost, and the Tartarian mirza, called off his troops.

* The names of White Russia and Black Russia are given by different authors to Muscovy in general. It is called *White* on account of its being covered with snow in the winter; and *Black*, from its gloomy forests, or, according to Cellarius, from its iron mines.

Manuring the ground, tending the flocks, and fighting, was the whole of a Russian's life, till the time of Peter the Great, and the life of three fourths of the inhabitants of the earth.

The Russians, about the middle of the sixteenth century, made an easy conquest of the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan from the weakened Tartars, who were still more undisciplined than themselves: but before Peter the Great, they could not make head against the Swedes on the side of Finland, as regular troops could not fail of having the advantage over them. From the time of John Basilowitz, or Basilides, who conquered Astracan and Casan, a part of Livonia, Pleskou, and Novogorod, till czar Peter, there happened nothing considerable.

There was a remarkable resemblance between this Basilides and the czar Peter. Both of them put their own sons to death. John Basilides suspecting his son of a conspiracy against him, during the siege of Pleskou, killed him with his spear; and Peter, who had condemned his son to die, would not suffer him to survive his sentence tho' he seemed to forgive him*.

There

* Our author seems remarkably fond of convicting princes of filicide. We have already taken notice of this circumstance in another volume, where he treats of the death of Don Carlos, son of Philip II. of Spain. We do not find any reason to believe that Peter was more guilty in this respect than Philip. His son, Alexis Petrowitz, was such a worthless prince, that he not only gave a loose to the most brutal passions, but even formed a conspiracy to dethrone his father. He eloped from Muscovy; and being brought back, the czar pardoned him, on condition that he should discover his accomplices, and renounce the succession in favour of his brother. These terms he embraced;

There are few events in history of a more extraordinary nature, than that of the false Demetrius's, which disturbed Russia for so long a time after the death of John Basilides. This czar left two sons, named Feoder or Theodore, the other Demetri or Demetrius. Feoder succeeded to the crown; Demetrius was confined in a village named Uglis, together with the czarina his mother. The rude manners of that court had not, as yet, adopted the policy of the sultan and ancient Greek emperors, to sacrifice the princes of the blood to the safety of the throne. The prime minister, named Boris-Guagnou, whose sister Feoder had married, persuaded that prince that he could not establish his authority but by imitating the Turks and assassinating his brother. Boris accordingly sent an officer to the village, where young Demetrius was brought up, with orders to kill him. The officer, at his return, said that he had executed his commission, and claimed the promised reward: Boris, instead of recompensing the murderer, ordered him to be slain himself, in order to suppress all proofs of the crime. It is said that some time afterwards this same prime minister poisoned czar Feoder; but, though he was suspected of this crime, he ne-

and Peter Petrowitz, the second son, was declared heir apparent of the empire. Peter, the father, finding that his eldest son had not observed the articles of agreement which he had signed, ordered him to be tried by the officers of justice and the clergy, who were unanimously of opinion that he was worthy of death. This sentence had such an effect upon the prince, that he grew stupid and lethargic, and died soon after.

vertheless

vertheless succeeded to the crown of the prince whom he had murdered. 1597

At this time there appeared in Lithuania, a young man, who pretended to be the prince Demetrius, who had escaped from the murderer sent to assassinate him. Several persons who had seen him with his mother pretended to know him again by certain marks. He perfectly resembled the prince in features and person, and shewed a cross enriched with precious stones, which had been tied about the neck of prince Demetrius when he was christened. The palatine of Sandomir acknowledged him immediately as the son of John Basilides, and the true czar*. A diet of Poland examined solemnly the proofs of his birth; and having found them incontestible, furnished him with an army to drive out the usurper Boris, and recover the crown of his ancestors.

In Russia, however, Demetrius was looked upon as an impostor, and even a magician. The Russians could never think that a Demetrius, introduced by Polish Roman catholics, and having two Jesuits for his counsellors, could be their true king. The Boiars were so persuaded of his being an impostor, that the czar

* This Polish nobleman was Adam Wisnowitzski, who having corrected Demetrius, known by the name of Griika, this pretended prince shed a flood of tears, telling his master that if he knew his quality he would not treat him in that manner. Then he declared himself the son of John Basilowitz, who had been saved from the perfidy of Boris, and produced a golden cross adorned with precious stones, which he said was hung round his neck at his baptism; but it was the vaivode of Sandomir, who raised an army in his favour.

Boris dying, they, without hesitation, placed his son Boris, a youth of fifteen years of age, on the throne.

1605 In the mean time Demetrius continued advancing into Russia with the Polish army. Those who were displeased with the Muscovite government declared in his favour. One of the generals of the Russian troops, as soon as he came in presence of Demetrius's army, cried out, "that he was the lawful heir to the empire," and instantly went over to him with the corps he commanded. The revolution soon became complete. Demetrius was no longer a magician. The people of Moscow ran to seize upon young Boris and his mother, and dragged them to prison. Demetrius was proclaimed czar without any 1605 contradiction. It was proclaimed that young Boris and his mother were murdered in prison. It is most probable, that Demetrius caused them to be put to death.

The widow of John Basilides, mother to the true or false Demetrius, had been for a long time banished into the north of Russia; the new czar sent to fetch her to court, in a kind of chariot, as magnificent as could be had at that time. He went several miles to meet her on the way, and both of them knew each other again, embracing with a flood of tears in the presence of all the people, who no longer doubted that Demetrius was the true emperor. He married the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, his first protector, and this proved his ruin*. The

* He likewise rendered himself odious to the Russians, by encouraging foreigners, particularly in establishing a guard composed of French, English, Germans, and Livenians.

people could not bear to behold, without horror, a catholic empress, a court filled with strangers, and a church built expressly for the Jesuits. Demetrius was no longer esteemed a Russian.

In the midst of the diversions, given on account of the czar's marriage, a Boiar, named Zuski, got together a number of conspirators, put himself at their head, and entered the palace with a drawn sabre in one hand and a cross in the other. The Polish guard were all cut in pieces: Demetrius himself was loaded with chains. The conspirators confronted him with the czarina, Basilides's widow, who had so solemnly acknowledged him as her son. The clergy obliged her to take an oath upon the cross, and to declare whether Demetrius was really her son or not. Then, whether the fear of death forced the princess to take a false oath, and overcame nature, or that she actually paid the homage due to truth, she declared, with a flood of tears, that the czar was not her son; that the true Demetrius had been really murdered while a child; and that she had followed the example of the rest of the nation, in acknowledging the new czar, in order to revenge the death of her son on the family of his murderers. It was then said, that Demetrius was one of the common people; that his true name was Griska Utropoya, and that he had been sometime a monk in a convent in Russia. He had been reproached before with not being of the Greek church, and now he was reproached with being at once a Russian peasant and a Greek monk. However that was, the chief of the conspirators, Zuski, killed him with his own hand, and ascended the throne in his stead.

The new czar, who had thus suddenly seized on the crown, sent back to their own country the few Poles who had survived the slaughter. As he had no other right to the throne, nor any other merit but that of having assassinated Demetrius, the other Boiars, who, from his equals, were now become his subjects, soon spread a report abroad, that the murdered czar was not an impostor, but the true Demetrius; and that his murderer was unworthy of the crown. The name of Demetrius was dear to the Russians. The chancellor of him who had been murdered took it into his head to declare, that he was not dead, but that he would soon recover of his wounds, and appear at the head of his faithful subjects.

This chancellor travelled all over Muscovy, carrying with him in a litter a young man, whom he called Demetrius, and treated as his sovereign. At this name there was a general insurrection of the people; battles were fought in the name of this Demetrius, whom nobody saw; but the chancellor's party being defeated, this second Demetrius soon disappeared. All imaginations were so impressed with this name, that a third Demetrius presented himself in Poland, who proved more fortunate than his predecessors had been. He was supported by Sigismund, king of Poland, and came and besieged the tyrant Zuski in his very capital of Moscow. Zuski had still in his hands the widow of the first Demetrius, and the palatine of Sandomir her father. The third Demetrius claimed her as his wife, and Zuski, who saw himself closely shut up within the city, restored the daughter and the father, hoping, perhaps, to soften the king of Poland, or flattering himself

self that the princess would acknowledge an impostor as her husband; but this impostor was victorious. The widow of the first Demetrius therefore did not hesitate to acknowledge this third as her true and lawful husband; and as the first had found a mother, the third as easily found a wife. The father-in-law swore that this was his son-in-law, and the people believed it as a truth. The Boiars, divided between the tyrant Zuski and the impostor, acknowledged neither the one nor the other. They deposed Zuski, and confined him in a convent. This was a superstitious notion which the Russians had, in common with the old Greek church, that a prince who had once been made a monk, could never reign afterwards: this same custom had formerly crept into the Latin church. Zuski appeared no more, and Demetrius was assassinated * at a feast by some Tartars.

The Boiars then offered their crown to prince Ladislaus, son of Sigismund, 1610 king of Poland. Ladislaus made preparations to come and receive it, when a fourth Demetrius appeared to dispute it with him. This person pretended that God had constantly preserved him in the three attempts made upon his life, at Uglis by the tyrant Boris, at Moscow by the usurper Zuski, and again by the Tartars. He found several partisans, who believed these three miraculous escapes. The city of Pleskou acknowledged him as czar. He

* In revenge for the death of their prince, Kasimowski, whom he had ordered to be drowned. This impostor was by some supposed to have been a schoolmaster at Socola, and by others to have been a Jew.

fixed his court there for some years, during which time the Russians, who repented them of having called in the Poles, drove them out every where, and Sigismund lost all hopes of seeing his son Ladislaus on the throne of the czars. In the midst of these troubles, the son of the patriarch Feder Romanow, was placed on that throne. The patriarch was a relation, by the wife's side, to czar John Basilides. His son, Michael Federowitz, that is to say, the son of Feder, was chosen czar at seventeen years of age by his father's interest. All Russia acknowledged this Federowitz; and the city of Pleskou delivered up to him the fourth Demetrius, who ended his reign on a gallows.

There was yet a fifth left: this was the son of the first who had actually reigned, and had espoused the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir; his mother had conveyed him out of Moscow, when she went in quest of the third Demetrius, in whom she pretended to discover her true husband. She afterwards took refuge among the Cossacks with this child, who was looked upon as the grandson of John Basilides, and who might very possibly be so; but as soon as Michael Federowitz was settled on the throne, he obliged the Cossacks to deliver up the mother and son, and ordered them both to be drowned.

It was not expected that a sixth Demetrius would make his appearance; however, a new pretender shewed himself at the court of Russia, under this name, while Michael Federowitz reigned in Muscovy and Ladislaus in Poland. Some young people, who were bathing with a Cossack of their own age, perceived these words pricked upon his back with the point of a needle,

in

in Russian characters, "Demetrius, the son of the czar Demetrius." This person immediately passed for the same son of the first Demetrius who had been drowned by the czar Fedorowitz's orders. God had worked a miracle for his deliverance*; he was treated as the czar's

* According to the account given of this young man by Moreri, from the *Imposteurs infignes*, there was no miracle pretended; and this, in all probability, was really the son of Demetrius Griska. The princess, his mother, being far advanced in her pregnancy when her husband was murdered, and foreseeing that the usurper's vengeance would fall upon the fruit of her womb, prevailed upon a Cossack, whose wife was in the same situation, to exchange their children: by which means the Cossack's child passed for the son of Demetrius, and was put to death accordingly. The other child being baptized, and marked on the back with characters signifying his birth, was carried away by the Cossack into his own country; where, however, he bestowed upon him a good education, in consequence of having received a considerable sum of money from the mother. This princess had, at her death, disclosed to some of her confidants the secret of the child; but she knew not whither the Cossack had retired, and he died suddenly, without having made Demetrius acquainted with the story of his birth. Chance, however, discovered him, in the little town of Samburg, twelve miles from Lovemburg, in Black Russia. The marks on his back being perceived in the bath, he was acknowledged by John Nicholas Danielouski, treasurer of the kingdom, who sent him in a proper equipage to the court of Uladislaus IV. king of Poland. At the death of this king, he retired to Sweden, where thinking himself not altogether safe, he removed to the court of Holstein, where he met with an hospitable reception. This prince having sent two ambassadors to Muscovy, one of them, called Burchman, borrowed in his master's name, a considerable sum of money, from the grand duke of Muscovy's treasurer. A Russian factor at Lubeck gave the duke of Holstein to understand, that the debt should be cancelled if he would deliver Demetrius to the czar. The duke could

not

czar's son at Ladislaus's court, and was made use of to excite new troubles in Russia. But his protector Ladislaus dying, he lost all hopes of succeeding, and retired into Sweden, and from thence to Holstein. Unhappily for him the duke of Holstein having sent an ambassador to the court of Moscow, in order to settle a trade for Persian silks, the ambassador, instead of succeeding in his negotiation, ran greatly in debt at Moscow; and the duke of Holstein, to procure a discharge of this debt, delivered up this last Demetrius, who was quartered alive.

These adventures, which sound fabulous, and yet are very true, never happen among a civilized people, who have a regular form of government. The czar Alexis, son of Michael Federowitz, and grandson to the patriarch Feder Romanow, who was crowned in 1645, is scarcely known in Europe, unless by being father of Peter the Great.

Russia, till the time of Peter the Great, continued almost unknown to the southern nations of Europe, and plunged in a miserable despotism of the prince over the Boiars, and of the Boiars over the peasants. What are at present complained of as abuses among civilized nations would have been divine laws for the Russians. There are some regulations which excite the murmurs of our merchants and manufacturers; but in all the northern countries it was very rare to have a bed: the people in general lay

not resist this temptation: and the prince was sent by sea to Moscow, where he suffered death. His head and members were fixed upon poles before the castle, and his body was devoured by dogs,

upon

upon the boards, which the better sort covered with a sort of coarse cloth, which they bought at foreign fairs, or else with the skin of some wild or domestic animal.

When the earl of Carlisle went ambassador from Charles II. of England, in 1663, to Moscow, he travelled through the whole Russian empire, from the port of Archangel in Poland, and every where met with the same customs, and that general poverty which such a custom pre-supposes, while the court shone with gold and jewels in a rude splendor.

An inhabitant of Crim Tartary, or a Cossack on the banks of the Don, reduced to the savage life of a Russian subject, was far more happy than him, since he was free and at liberty to go where he pleased, whereas a Russian was forbid to go out of the country under pain of death. You will find by the history of Charles XII. of Sweden, and that of czar Peter, therein included, how prodigious a difference half a century has produced in this empire. Thirty ages would not have effected what Peter did by travelling only a few years.

C H A P. CXL:

Of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE in the seventeenth Century. The siege of CANDIA. False Messiah.

AFTER the death of Selim II. the Ottomans maintained their superiority in Europe and Asia. They even extended their frontiers under Amurath III. whose generals took
 1585 Raab in Hungary on one side, and Tibris in Persia on the other. The Janissaries, who were so formidable to their enemies, were no less so to their masters: but Amurath shewed them that he was worthy to be their commander. They came to him one day to demand the head of the testerder, or high treasurer. They had already gathered in a tumultuous manner, at the inner door of the seraglio, and even threatned the sultan himself. Amurath then ordered the doors to be flung open, and followed by all the officers of his seraglio, he rushed upon them with his sabre in his hand, put several of them to death, and the rest fled, and dispersed of their own accord: and this haughty militia afterwards
 1593 stood quiet spectators of the execution of the principal mutineers. But what soldiers are those who drive their masters to the necessity of fighting them? It was possible at times to suppress, but they never could be subjected, disciplined, or abolished, and frequently took upon them the disposal of the empire.

Mahomet III. Amurath's son, deserved more than any other sultan, that the Janissaries should

exercise upon him the right they had arrogated to themselves of giving laws to their masters. He began his reign by strangling nineteen of his brothers, and ordering twelve of his father's wives, whom he suspected of being with child, to be drowned. Scarce a murmur was heard in the nation, and none but the weak suffered. This monster of cruelty had a glorious and successful reign. He protected Transylvania against the emperor Rodolph II. who quitted the care of his dominions and the empire; he laid Hungary waste, and took Agria in person, in sight of the archduke Matthias; and throughout his horrid reign maintained the grandeur of the Ottoman empire.

During the reign of his son Achmet I. from 1603, to 1631, every thing went to ruin. The Turks were continually beaten by Sha Abbas, the great king of Persia, who took from them Tauris, the ancient theatre of the Turkish and Persian wars; drove them out of all their conquests, and freed Rodolph, Matthias, and Ferdinand II. from their fears. He fought for the Christians without knowing it. Achmet concluded a shameful peace in 1615 with the emperor Matthias, by which he restored him Agria, Canisa, Pest, and Alba Regalis, which his ancestors had conquered. Thus it is that fortune balances the events of the world. Thus you have seen the Turks checked in the progress of their victories over the empire and Venice, by Ussum Cassan and Sophi Ismael, and Constantinople saved by the Tartar Tamerlane.

What passed after Achmet's death sufficiently shews us, that the Turkish government is not that absolute monarchy which has been represented

sented to us by historians, as the irresistible law of despotism. This power is, in the hands of the sultan, like a two-edged sword, which wounds its master if too weak to manage it. The empire was frequently, as count Marsigli observes, a military democracy, which is still worse than arbitrary power. The order of succession was uncertain. The Janissaries and the divan did not chuse Achmet's son Osman for
1617 their emperor, but Mustapha, the brother of Achmet. In less than two months they were tired of Mustapha, whom they declared incapable of reigning, and threw into prison; after which they proclaimed his young nephew, Osman, emperor, who was only twelve years of age, in whose name they reigned. Mustapha had still a party, though a prisoner. His faction persuaded the Janissaries that young Osman had entertained a design of reducing their number*, thereby to weaken their power.

* Their pretence for mutinying was the sultan's design to leave Constantinople, and make a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had actually begun to send his tents and treasures over into Asia, when the Janissaries assembling at the seraglio, called out for the sultan. On his appearing and asking the cause of this tumult, they told him he should not quit the city, and they demanded the heads of the prime vizir and others, as enemies to the government. Next day the vizir endeavouring to expostulate with them was cut in pieces. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at Constantinople, had desired this vizir, whose name was Delaur, to recommend him to the protection of the Kaimacan, or governor of the city, in case he (the vizir) should attend the sultan in his pilgrimage. To this request Delaur answered, "Give yourself no trouble, I shall leave one of my legs behind at your service." Accordingly the prediction was verified; for in a few days one of his legs was actually hung up in the Hippodrome, near the house of the English ambassador.

On this pretext Osman was deposed and shut up in the seven towers, whither the grand vizir Daout went in person and murdered his sovereign. Mustapha was a second time taken from his prison, acknowledged sovereign, and at the end of twelve months deposed again, by the same janissaries, who had twice chosen him emperor. Never had prince been treated with such ignominy since the time of Vitellius. He was led through the streets of Constantinople on an ass, exposed to the insults of the populace, then carried back to the seven towers, and there strangled. 1622

Under Amurath IV. surnamed Gasi the Intrepid, every thing again assumed a new face. He made himself respected by the Janissaries, by employing them against the Persians, and leading them in person to battle. He took Erzerom from the Persians. Ten years afterwards he made himself master of Bagdat by assault, which was the ancient Seleucia, capital of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbeck, and which together with Erzerom, has ever since continued with the Turks. The Persians then thought that they had no other way of securing their frontiers but by laying waste upwards of thirty leagues of their own country beyond Bagdat, and making a barren solitude of the most fruitful tract of all Persia. Other nations defend their frontiers by fortresses; the Persians have defended theirs by deserts. 1628

At the same time that Amurath made himself master of Bagdat, he sent forty thousand men to the assistance of the great mogul Shah-Jehan against his son Aurengzeb. Had this torrent, which overflowed Asia, fallen upon Ger-

many, at that time invaded by the Swedes and French, and rent in pieces at home, that empire would have run the risk of losing the glory of never having been subdued.

The Turks acknowledge that this victorious sultan had no other good quality but his courage; that he was cruel, and that his cruelty was heightened by his debauchery; a debauch of wine put an end to his life, and dishonoured his memory.

His son Ibrahim, who succeeded him, had the same vices, and was a weak prince, and wholly void of courage: yet it was in his reign that the Turks conquered the island of Candia, and that nothing remained for them to take but the capital and some few strong places, which held out for twenty-four years.

This island, so famous in antiquity for its laws, its arts, and even its fables, had been once before taken by the Mahometan Arabs, at the beginning of the ninth century, who built the city of Candia, which afterwards gave its name to the whole island. They were driven out by the Greek emperors about eighty years afterwards; but in the time of the crusade, when the Latin princes, who had entered into a league to defend Constantinople, invaded the Greek empire instead of protecting it, the Venetians were rich enough to purchase this island, and fortunate enough to keep it.

An adventure of an extraordinary and somewhat romantic kind, first drew the Ottoman arms upon Candia. Six Maltese galleys having taken a large Turkish man of war, came to anchor with their prize in a small port in the island, called Calismene. It was said that

one

one of the grand signor's sons was on board the Turkish ship. What gave some ground to believe this report was, that the Kiskar aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, attended by several officers of the seraglio, was on board of this ship, and that there was a child whom he served with great care and respect. This eunuch was slain in the engagement; the officers who survived affirmed, that this child belonged to the sultan Ibrahim, and that his mother was sending him into Egypt. He was a long time treated at Malta as the sultan's son, in hopes of a ransom proportionable to his birth: however, the sultan never offered any ransom for him, either because he thought it beneath him to treat with the knights of Malta, or that the prisoner was not really his son; upon which this pretended prince was slighted by the Maltese, and at length became a friar of the Dominican order, and was a long time known by the name of the Ottoman father. The Dominicans have ever since boasted of having had the son of a sultan in their order.

The Porte not being able to revenge itself upon the Maltese, who from their inaccessible rocks defied all the Ottoman force, let fall the weight of its wrath upon the Venetians, accusing them of having infringed the treaty of peace, by suffering the Maltese to bring their prize into their harbour. The Turkish fleet made a descent upon Candia, took Canea, and in a short time almost all the rest of the island. 1645

Ibrahim had no share in this event. The greatest things have been sometimes done under the weakest princes. The Janissaries were absolute

solite masters of the empire in Ibrahim's reign ; and if they made conquests they were for themselves and the state, and not for him. At length he was deposed by sentence of the musti and the divan. The Turkish empire was then a downright democracy* ; for after having shut up the sultan in his women's apartments, they proclaimed no other emperor, but the administration was carried on in the name of the sultan, though he no longer reigned.

Our historians pretend to tell us that Ibrahim was strangled by four mutes, from the false supposition, that mutes are employed in executing the bloody orders of the seraglio ; but they are only kept as buffoons or dwarfs, and never employed in any serious matters†. We must therefore look upon this story only as a romantic relation : the Turkish annals take no notice how he died ; it was a secret of the seraglio. The many false stories which have been told us concerning the government of Turkey, which is so near to us, is sufficient to make us doubly cautious with regard to our belief of ancient history. How can we hope to learn any thing certain concerning the ancient

* Or rather a true anarchy. Democracy is a species of government, in which the election of magistrates depends upon the suffrages of all the people : but this was by no means the case at Constantinople, where the sultan was elevated and deposed by a set of armed banditti.

† We wish our author had given his reasons for contradicting the whole stream of history with respect to mutes. The circumstance of Ibrahim's being strangled by mutes is related by St. Paul Rycaut, who resided a long time in Turkey, and therefore may be supposed to have been acquainted with the customs of the country.

Scythians, Gomarians, and Celtes, when we are so badly informed of what passes round about us? This may convince us that we ought to confine ourselves to public events in the history of nations, and not waste our time in fruitless researches into private circumstances, which are not transmitted to us by ocular or well vouched testimony.

By a singular fatality, this period, which proved so fatal to Ibrahim, was the same to almost all kings. The throne of Germany was shaken by the famous thirty years war; France was laid waste by its civil broils, and the mother of Lewis XIV. was obliged to fly with her children from her capital. Charles I. was put to death in London by his own subjects. Philip IV. of Spain, after having lost all his possessions in Asia, lost Portugal likewise. The beginning of the seventeenth century was the time of usurpers from one end of the world to the other. England, Scotland, and Ireland, were subdued by Cromwell. A rebel, named Litching, obliged the last emperor of the Chinese race to strangle his wife, his children, and himself, and opened the empire of China to the Tartarian conquerors. Aurengzeb revolted against his father in Mogulstan, left him to languish in prison, and enjoyed the fruits of his crimes in peace. The greatest of all tyrants, Mulei-Ismael, exercised the most shocking cruelties throughout the empire of Morocco. These two usurpers, Aurengzeb and Mulei-Ismael, lived the longest and most happily of all the kings of the earth. Each of their lives exceeded an hundred years. Cromwell, who was as wicked as themselves, did not live so long;

but he reigned and died in peace. In running through the history of the world, we find weakness punished, and powerful villainy fortunate; and the universe one vast scene of rapine left to chance.

To return to the war of Candia; it resembled that of Troy. Sometimes the city was in danger from the Turks, and sometimes the Turks were pent up themselves in Canea, which they had made their magazine of arms. The Venetians never gave greater instances of their courage and resolution; they several times defeated the Turkish fleets. St. Mark's treasury was exhausted in raising troops. The troubles of the seraglio, and the irruptions of the Turks into Hungary, made the expedition against Candia to go on but slowly for a time; but it was never wholly interrupted. At length, in the year 1667, Achmet Cüpregli, or Kiuperli, grand vizir to Mahomet IV. and son to a grand vizir, laid regular siege to Candia, which was defended by the captain-general Francesco Morosini, and St. André Montbrun, a French officer, to whom the senate had given the command of its land-forces.

This city would never have been taken, had the christian princes in any degree imitated the example of Lewis XIV. who in 1669 sent between six and seven thousand men to its assistance, under the command of the duke of Beaufort and the duke of Noailles. The port of Candia was always open; so that there was nothing to do but to send over forces sufficient to resist the Janissaries. The duke of Beaufort, the same who during the time of the fronde acted a part rather more strange than illustrious,
went

went to attack the Turks in their trenches, at the head of the French nobility: but a magazine of powder and granades happening to blow up in the trenches, frustrated this attempt. The French thinking that the ground was undermined beneath them, fled in disorder, and were closely pursued by the Turks. The duke of Beaufort was killed in this action, with several other French officers of distinction.

Lewis XIV. though in alliance with the Ottoman empire, openly assisted the Venetians, and afterwards the Germans, against this empire, without the Turks seeming to be much displeased at it. It is not known what reason this monarch had for recalling his troops afterwards from Candia. The duke of Noailles, who had the command of them after the death of the duke of Beaufort, was persuaded that the place could not hold out against the Turks. The captain-general Francesco Morosini, who had sustained this famous siege so long, might have quitted the ruined city without capitulating, and have retired by sea, of which he was still master: but by capitulating, he still kept possession of some places in the island for his republic, and the capitulation was at the same time a treaty of peace. The vizir, Achmet Cuprogli, staked all his glory and that of the Ottoman empire on taking Candia.

A peace then was concluded between the vizir and Morosini; and the city of Candia, reduced to a heap of ashes, and with only twenty sick Christians remaining in it, was given up to the Turks. Never had the Christians made a more honourable capitulation with the Mahometans; nor never were articles more exactly

observed by conquerors. Morosini was allowed to carry off all the artillery which had been brought into Candia since the commencement of the siege. The vizir furnished boats for conveying those citizens who could not find room on board the Venetian vessels. He likewise presented the burgher who brought him the keys of the town with a purse of five hundred sequins *, and two hundred more to those who accompanied him. The Turks and the Venetians visited each other like friends and neighbours, till the day the latter left the island.

Cuprogli, the conqueror of Candia, was one of the best generals and greatest ministers in Europe; and at the same time a just and humane man. He acquired immortal reputation in this long siege, at which, by the account of the Turks themselves, they lost two hundred thousand men.

The Morosini's, (for there were four of that name in the besieged town,) the Cornaro's, the Giustiniani's, the Benzoni's, the marquis of St. André Montbrun, and the marquis of Frontenac rendered their names illustrious throughout Europe. It is not without reason that this war has been compared to that of Troy. The grand vizir had a Greek about him who deserved the surname of Ulysses; he was called Payanotes. Prince Cantemir tells us that this Greek brought the council of Candia to capitulate by a stratagem worthy of Ulysses. The besieged were in daily expectation of some ships from France with provisions. Payanotos

* A sequin is a gold coin, value about nine shillings and seven-pence of our English money.

made several of the Turkish ships hoist French colours, and sent them out to sea in the night time, the next day they sailed back into the road where the Ottoman fleet was lying, who received them with a general shout of joy. Payanotos, who was treating with the council of war of Candia, persuaded them that the French king had deserted the republic, in favour of the Turks, whose ally he was; and this stratagem hastened the capitulation. The captain-general Morosini was accused in open senate of having betrayed the republic. However, he was defended as strongly as he was accused. Here is another conformity between this state and the antient republics of Greece and Rome, especially the latter. Morosini sufficiently cleared his character afterwards by taking Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, from the Turks, a conquest which Venice enjoyed but a very short time. This great man died doge, and left behind him a reputation which will last as long as the republic, which he so eminently served.

OF SABBATEI-SEVI, who assumed the Character of MESSIAH.

DURING the war of Candia there happened an event among the Turks which attracted the attention of all Europe and Asia. A general rumour had prevailed, founded on idle curiosity, that the year 1666 was to be the epoch of a great revolution in the world. This opinion took its rise from the mystical number 666, which is found in the Revelations. Never was the attempt of Anti-Christ so universal.

The Jews on their side pretended that this was the year in which their Messiah was to be born.

A Jew of Smyrna named Sabbatei-Sevi, a man of tolerable learning, and son to a rich broker of the English factory, took advantage of this general prepossession, and declared himself to be the Messiah. He was eloquent, had an engaging figure, affected great modesty, preached up justice, delivered himself with the air of an oracle, and declared every where that the fullness of time was come. He travelled at first into Greece and Italy. He ran away with a young girl at Leghorn, whom he brought with him to Jerusalem, where he began to harangue his brethren. One of his disciples, called Nathan, offered to act the part of Elias, while Sabbatei assumed the character of the Messiah. These two reformed the synagogue at Jerusalem. Nathan explained the prophets, and clearly proved that before the end of the year the sultan would be dethroned, and Jerusalem become the mistress of the world. All the Jews of Syria became proselytes to them. The synagogues resounded with the ancient predictions: they relied upon the words of Isaiah, "Arise Jerusalem, arise in thy strength and in thy glory; there shall be no more uncircumcised nor impure persons among you." All the Rabbins had this passage in their mouths: "Thither shall your brethren be sent for from all parts of the world to Jerusalem, even to the holy mountain; they shall come in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and in waggons." In short, an hundred of the like sentences, which were repeated by the women and children, kept up these

these idle hopes. There was not a single Jew but made preparations for lodging in his house one of the old ten tribes which had been dispersed; and the prepossession was so strong, that these people every where neglected their trade, and kept in readiness to make a journey to Jerusalem.

Nathan made choice of twelve persons in Damascus, to preside over the twelve tribes. Sabbatei-Sevi took a journey to Smyrna, to shew himself to the brethren there. During his residence in that city, Nathan wrote to him in this stile: "King of kings, lord of lords, when shall we be worthy to lie down in the shadow of your as? I prostrate myself to be trampled beneath the sole of your feet." Sabbatei deposed certain doctors of the law, who refused to own him, and placed others more tractable in their room. One of the most violent of his enemies, called Samuel Pennia, was publicly converted to him, and acknowledged him to be the son of God. Sabbatei having one day presented himself before the cadi of Smyrna, with a croud of his followers, every one affirmed that they saw a column of fire between him and the cadi. Some few miracles of the same nature confirmed the authority of his mission. Several Jews brought their gold and jewels, and laid them at his feet.

The bashaw of Smyrna resolved to have him seized; but Sabbatei departed for Constantinople with the most zealous of his disciples. The grand vizir, Cuprogli, who was then setting out for the siege of Candia, sent to take him out of the ship that was carrying him over to Constantinople, and ordered him to be thrown

into prison. The Jews easily obtained entrance into the prison by paying for it, as is the custom in Turkey, and came in crouds to prostrate themselves at his feet, and kiss his chains. He spent his time in preaching to, exhorting, and blessing them, without uttering the least complaint. The Jews of Constantinople, persuaded that the coming of the Messiah would abolish all debts, refused to pay their creditors. The English merchants of Galata bethought themselves of paying a visit to Sabbatei in his prison, and told him, that as king of the Jews it behoved him to order his subjects to pay their debts. Sabbatei thereupon wrote in these terms to those who were complained against. "To you who wait for the salvation of Israel, &c. discharge your lawful debts, otherwise you shall not partake of our joy, nor enter with us into our kingdom."

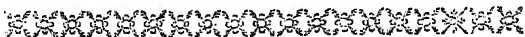
Sabbatei's prison was entirely filled with those who came to worship him. The Jews began to raise some disturbances in Constantinople. The people were in general very much displeased with Mahomet IV. It was feared that the prediſſion of the Jews would occasion some commotions. It seemed likely that so strict a government as that of the Turks would have put any person to death who had called himself king of Israel: however, they contented themselves with removing Sabbatei to the castle of the Dardanells. The Jews at that time thought it was not in the power of man to take away his life.

His fame had reached into all the countries of Europe; he was received at the Dardanells by deputies from the Jews of Poland, Germany,

Leghorn, Venice, and Amsterdam, who payed dearly for permission to kiss his feet, and this is probably what saved his life. The Holy Land was quietly divided by him and his followers in the prison. At length the noise of his miracles was so great, that sultan Mahomet had a curiosity to see this man, and put some questions to him himself. Accordingly this king of the Jews was brought to the seraglio. The sultan asked him in the Turkish language, "If he was the Messiah." Sabbatei modestly replied, "He was." But as he spoke the Turkish language very incorrectly, Mahomet told him that "He spoke very badly for a Messiah, who ought to have the gift of tongues." "Dost thou perform miracles, continued the sultan?" "Sometimes, answered Sabbatei." Well then, said the emperor, let him be instantly stripped naked, he shall be placed as a mark for my Ichoglans to shoot their arrows at; and if he is invulnerable, we will acknowledge him as the Messiah." Sabbatei hearing this, immediately fell upon his knees, and confessed that this was a miracle which exceeded his power. He then had his choice of being impaled alive, or of turning Mussulman, and going publicly to mosque. He was not long hesitating, but instantly embraced the Turkish religion. He then declared that he had been sent to substitute the Turkish religion in room of the Jewish, according to the ancient prophecies. Notwithstanding this, the Jews of the more distant parts continued to believe in him for a long time; and this scene, which passed without any bloodshed, increased the shame and confusion of this nation.

Some time after the Jews had met with this disgrace in the Ottoman empire, the Christians of the Latin church underwent a mortification of a different kind: they had hitherto always kept possession of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, by means of the money they were supplied with by several of the princes of their communion, especially the king of Spain. But that Payanotos, who had concluded the treaty for the delivery of Candia, obtained of the grand vizir, Achmet Cuprogli, that the Greek church should thenceforwards have the custody of all the holy places about Jerusalem. The religious of the Latin church opposed this by formal process. The affair was pleaded first before the cadi of Jerusalem, and afterwards in the great divan of Constantinople, who declared the pretension of the Greek church to be justly founded, as Jerusalem had been within its district before the time of the crusades. The pains the Turks took to enquire into the claims and rights of their christian subjects, and the permission they gave them of exercising their religion in the very place where it was first formed, is a very striking example of a government at once cruel and indigent. When the Greeks attempted, in virtue of the sentence of the divan, to enter into possession, these very Latins made resistance, and some lives were lost on the occasion. The government punished no one with death: a fresh proof of the humanity of the vizir Cuprogli, who set several examples that have seldom been followed. One of his predecessors in 1638, ordered the famous Greek patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril, to be strangled upon the

repeated complaints of those of his church. The mildness or cruelty of an administration every where depends upon the character of those who govern.



C H A P. CLXI.

PROGRESS of the TURKS. The SIEGE of VIENNA.

THE torrent of the Ottoman power did not only overspread Candia and the islands belonging to the Venetian republic, but it likewise frequently penetrated into Poland and Hungary. The same Mahomet IV. who had taken Candia by his grand-visir, marched in person against the Poles, under pretence of protecting the Cossacks, who had been ill-treated by them. He took from them the Ukraine, Podolia, Wolhinia, and the city of Kaminiek; and would not make peace with them till they had agreed to pay him an annual ¹⁶⁷² tribute of twenty thousand crowns, from which John Sobieski soon afterwards set them free.

The Turks had suffered Hungary to breathe during the thirty years war which overturned Germany. From the year 1541 they had been in possession of both sides the Danube, to Buda, inclusively. The conquests of Amurath IV. in Persia had prevented him from turning his arms towards Germany. All Transilvania belonged to princes whom the emperors Ferdinand II. and III. were obliged to keep fair with, and

who were tributaries to the Turks. What remained of Hungary enjoyed its liberty. It was not so in the time of the emperor Leopold: Upper Hungary and Transylvania were the theatres of revolutions, wars, and devastation.

Of all the people who have passed under our review in the course of this history, none appear to have been more miserable than the Hungarians. Their country, which was depopulated, poor, and distracted between the catholic and protestant factions, and several others, was at the same time over-run by the armies of the Turks and the empire. It is said that Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, was the first cause of all these misfortunes; he was a tributary to the Porte, and by refusing to pay his tribute, drew the Ottoman arms upon him. The emperor Leopold sent a body of troops to oppose the Turks, under the command of Montecuculli, who was afterwards rival to the famous Turenne. Lewis XIV. likewise sent six thousand men to the assistance of the emperor of Germany, his natural enemy. They had a
1663 share in the famous battle of St. Go-
thard, in which Montecuculli beat the
Turks. But, notwithstanding this victory, the
1664 Ottoman empire made an advantageous
peace, by which it kept Buda, and even
Neuhausel and Transylvania.

The Hungarians, after being delivered from the Turks, endeavoured in the next place to defend their liberties against the emperor Leopold, who respected no privileges but those of his own crown. New troubles now broke forth: young Emeric Tekeli, a Hungarian nobleman, who had the blood of his friends
and

and relations to revenge, which had been shed by the court of Vienna, prevailed on that part of Hungary which was under the dominion of the emperor Leopold to revolt, and put himself under the protection of sultan Mahomet IV. who made him king of Upper Hungary. The Ottoman Porte at that time gave four crowns to Christian princes, namely, those of Upper Hungary, Transilvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

The blood of the Hungarian noblemen of Tekeli's party, which had been spilt by the hands of the common executioner at Vienna, had well nigh cost Leopold and his family the loss of Vienna and Austria. Cara Mustapha, who succeeded Achmet Cuprogli as prime-minister, was ordered by Mahomet IV. to attack the emperor, under pretence of revenging Tekeli. The sultan himself came and assembled his army in the plains of Adrianopolis, which was one of the most numerous that the Turks had ever sent into the field. It consisted of upwards of one hundred thousand regular troops, about thirty thousand Crim-Tartars, which, together with the volunteers, those who served the artillery, those who had care of the baggage and provisions, the workmen of all kinds, and the servants, made in all full three hundred thousand men. The whole kingdom of Hungary was hardly sufficient to furnish provisions for this multitude. Cara Mustapha met with no opposition in his march, and advanced without resistance to the very gates of Vienna, and immediately laid siege to the city.

July 16,
1683.

Count Staremberg, who was governor of the city, had a garrison whose proper establishment was one thousand six hundred men, of which there were not above half the number effective. The burghers who remained in the town were all armed; and even the university itself, the professors and the students, mounted guard; and their commanding officer was a physician. The retreat of the emperor Leopold increased the general alarm; he had withdrawn from Vienna ever since the 7th of July with the empress his mother-in-law, his wife, and all the family. Vienna, which was very badly fortified, could not hold out long. The Turkish annals say that Cara Mustapha had formed the design of setting up a new empire in Vienna and Hungary, independent of the sultan; and that having entertained a notion that there must be immense treasures in a place which was the residence of the German emperors, he for that reason did not push the siege so vigorously as he ought to have done, fearing that if the city should be taken by assault, the general plunder should deprive him of part of these imaginary riches. He never gave a general assault*, tho' there were many large breaches in the place, and though he knew the town to be without any hopes of assistance. This infatuation in the grand vizir, together with his luxury and effeminacy, saved Vienna, which otherwise must have fallen. It gave time to John Sobieski,

* According to the Christian historians the Turks carried on their operations with great vigour, having given repeated assaults, in which they were always repulsed with great slaughter.

king of Poland, to come to its assistance, and to Charles V. duke of Lorraine and the princes of the empire to assemble an army. The Janissaries murmured; and faint-heartedness succeeding to indignation, they cried out, "Approach infidels, you have only to shew your hats, and we shall fly."

This was actually the case; for no sooner had the king of Poland and the duke of Lorraine descended from the mountain of Calemberg, than the Turks took to flight, without striking a blow. Cara Mustapha, who thought to find such great riches in Vienna, left all his own in Sobieski's power, and on his return home was strangled. Tekeli, who had been made king by this vizir, being soon after suspected by the Ottoman Porte of carrying on a private correspondence with the emperor of Germany, was apprehended by the new vizir, and sent in chains to Constantinople. The Turks, lost almost all Hungary.

The reign of Mahomet IV. was no longer famous but for its disgraces: Morosini took all Peloponnesus, which was of much greater value than Candia. The bombs of the Venetian army destroyed several ancient monuments which the Turks had still left standing, and amongst others the famous temple of Athens, dedicated to "The unknown Gods." The Janissaries, who attributed all their misfortunes to the sultan, resolved to depose him. The caimacan or governor of Constantinople, Mustapha Cuprogli, the xerif of St. Sophia's mosque, and the nakif or keeper of Mahomet's standard, went in a body to signify to the sultan

tan that he must resign the throne, for such was the will of the nation. The sultan spoke a long time in justification of himself; but the nakif told him, in the people's name, to abdicate the empire, and leave it to his brother Solyman. Thereupon Mahomet replied, "God's will be done, since his anger has fallen upon my head; go and tell my brother that God declares his will by the voice of the people."

Most of our historians pretend that Mahomet IV. was killed by the Janissaries; but the Turkish annals testify that he lived five years after being shut up in the seraglio. The same Mustapha Cuprogli who had deposed Mahomet IV. served as grand vizir under Solyman III. He retook part of Hungary, and in some measure restored the reputation of the Ottoman empire: but since that time the limits of this empire have never come beyond Belgrade or Temeswaer. The sultans retained Candia, but they did not recover the Peloponnesus till the year 1715. The famous battles which were fought between prince Eugene and the Turks has shewn that they are to be beaten, but not that much advantage can be gained over them.

This government, which is described as so arbitrary and despotic, appears to have been so only under Mahomet II. Solyman, and Selim, who made every thing give way to their wills: but under almost all the other padichas or emperors, especially those of late years, you will find the government of Constantinople to be the same with that of Algiers and Tunis; you see that in 1703 the emperor Mustapha II. was formally deposed by the militia and citizens of Constantinople. They did not even choose one
of

of his sons to succeed him, but his brother Achmet III. This Achmet himself was condemned in 1730 by the Janissaries and the people to resign the sovereign authority to his nephew Mahmoud, and obeyed without resistance, after having sacrificed his grand vizir and his principal officers to the resentment of the nation. These are the absolute sovereigns so much talked of*. It is imagined that a man is by the laws possessed of despotic power over half the world, because he can with impunity commit some crimes in his own family, and order a few slaves to be murdered; but he cannot persecute the nation, and is much oftener oppressed than he oppresses.

There is a great contradiction in the manners of the Turks; they are at once brutal and charitable; covetous, yet never guilty of theft; their idle manner of living never leads them either to gaming or intemperance; very few of them use their privilege of having a number of wives, and enjoying several slaves; and there is not a great city in Europe where there are less common women. Invincibly attached to their own religion, they hate and despise the

* Despotism in a prince must either depend upon the most implicit obedience in the people, or on the power of the sword: but both these supports will sometimes fail, especially in a fierce and barbarous nation. The people may be oppressed into rebellion, and the troops incensed into revolt. In either case, the nature of the government is out of the question. The revolution that ensues is the effect of violence, and by no means owing to any established law or fundamental constitution: consequently the deposition of a sultan is no proof that the government is not absolute; it proves no more, than that the executive part of that government has revolted against the head.

Christians,

Christians, and look upon them as idolaters; and yet they suffer, and even protect them throughout the empire and in their capital; they permit them to make processions in the vast quarter which is set apart for them in Constantinople; and four Janissaries march before the procession through all the streets, to preserve them from insults. The Turks are haughty, they know nothing of nobility; they are brave, but have not adopted the custom of duelling. This is a good quality, which they have in common with all the Asiatics, which arises from their never bearing arms but when they go to war. This likewise was the custom with the Greeks and Romans, and the contrary practice was introduced among Christians only in the times of barbarism and chivalry, when it was made a point of duty and honour to walk abroad with spurs at their heels, and to sit at table, or say their prayers, with a sword by their sides. The Christian nobility was distinguished by this custom, which was soon followed, as I have already observed, by the scum of the people, and placed in the rank of those follies which do not appear such because we are conversant with them every day.

C H A P. CLXII.

Of PERSIA and its Manners ; of the late Revolution in that Empire ; and of THAMAS KOULI-CAN, or SCHAH NADIR.

PERSIA was at that time more civilized than Turkey ; the arts were more honoured there, the manners were less brutal, and the general police better observed. This was not merely the effect of climate ; the Arabians had cultivated the arts there for upwards of five centuries. It was they who built Isfahan, Chiraz, Casbin, Cashan, and several other great cities : the Turks, on the contrary, did not build one, but suffered several to fall to ruin. Persia was twice subdued by the Tartars after the reign of the Arabian caliphs, but the conquerors did not abolish the arts ; and the family of the Sophis, during their reign, introduced that gentleness of manners which they had brought with them from Armenia, where they had long resided. Handicraft works were in general thought to be better executed and more finished in Persia than in Turkey. The sciences met with much greater encouragement there : for there was hardly a city without established colleges, in which the belles lettres were taught. The Persian language, which is softer and more harmonious than that of the Turks, has been very fruitful in poetical productions. They acknowledge the ancient Greeks for their masters in the sciences, who indeed were the first preceptors to Europe. Accordingly we find that the Persian philosophy, in the sixteenth and seventeenth

venteenth century, was much the same as ours. Astrology was the growth of their country; and they were much more addicted to it than any other people in the world, as has been already remarked. The custom of distinguishing lucky days by a white mark, and the unlucky by a black one, has been scrupulously preserved among them; this was a common practice with the Romans, who took it from the Asiatic nations. The peasants of our provinces (in France) are not more strict in observing the proper days for sowing and planting pointed out in their almanacks, than were the courtiers of Ispahan in observing the favourable or unfavourable hours for beginning any business. The Persians, like many of our nations, abounded in understanding and errors. Some travellers have affirmed that this country is not so well peopled as it might be. It is very probable, that in the time of the Magi it was both better peopled and more fertile; agriculture was then a part of their religion; it is, of all other professions, that which requires the most numerous family, and which, by preserving health and strength, enables a man more easily to bring up a number of children.

Nevertheless Ispahan, before the last revolutions in Persia, was as large and as populous as London. The city of Tauris was reckoned to contain upwards of five hundred thousand inhabitants. Cachan was thought to be much upon a footing with Lyons. It is impossible that a city should be well peopled, if the circumjacent country is not, unless that city subsists wholly by a foreign trade. We have at best but a very uncertain idea of the population

of Turkey, Persia, and the other states of Asia, excepting that of China; but it is indubitable, that every civilized country that can raise large armies, and abounds in manufactures, must have a necessary number of inhabitants.

The court of Ispahan was much more magnificent than that of Constantinople. We imagine we are reading a relation in Xerxes time, when we meet, in the accounts of our travellers, with horses covered with rich brocades, and their harness glittering with gold and precious stones, and the four thousand gold vases which Chardin tells us were used at the king of Persia's table. Common things in life, especially eatables, were three times as cheap at Ispahan and Constantinople as they are with us. This cheapness is a mark of plenty*; travellers, such as Chardin, who have been well acquainted with the country, do not pretend to tell us that all the lands belong to the king. They own that there are there, as in all other countries, demesnes belonging to the king, lands set apart for the clergy, and estates which belong by right to individuals, which are transmitted from father to son.

All the accounts we have of Persia confirm to us, that there is no monarchical state where the privileges of society are more enjoyed. The people there have more resources against melancholy, which is the poison of life, than any

* This is not always the case. There are countries in which provision is scarce, but money still scarcer; of consequence the money will be counted more valuable than the provision, and the price will be comparatively lower than in other countries, where there is more money and more abundance.

other nation of the East ; they assembled together in spacious rooms, which they call Coffee-houses, where some amused themselves with drinking that liquor, which did not come into vogue with us till towards the end of the seventeenth century. Others talked or read ; and others listened to the tellers of stories ; while at one end of the room a priest was preaching for a trifling sum of money, and at the other end a sort of men, who make an art of amusing others, were displaying their talents. These are all marks of a sociable people, and such as deserved to have been happy ; and it is said that they were so under the reign of Shah Abbas, called the Great. This pretended great man was very cruel ; but there are examples of men of a brutal disposition who have loved order and the good of the common-weal. A tyrant exercises his cruelty only upon those who are more immediately under his eye, and this very tyrant may, by his laws, sometimes prove a benefactor to the country in general.

Shah Abbas, who was a descendant of Sophi Ismael, got possession of despotic power, by destroying a militia, which was much the same as that of the Janissaries and the Prætorian guards. It was thus that czar Peter, in order to establish his power, destroyed the Strelits militia in Russia. We may observe in all countries, that the throne is strengthened by troops divided into small bodies ; and that on the contrary, those troops united in one great body, have frequently disposed of the throne, and even subverted it. Shah-Abbas transported the inhabitants of one country into another, which is what the Turks never have done. These colonies

colonies seldom succeed. Of thirty thousand Christian families, which Shah-Abbas transported out of Armenia and Georgia, into Mazanderan by the Caspian Sea, there are but five hundred at present remaining: but he built several public edifices, rebuilt many towns, and raised some useful foundations. He retook from the Turks all that the sultans Solyman and Selim had conquered from Persia. He drove the Portuguese out of Ormus. By all these acts he gained the name of great. He died in 1629. His son Shah Sophi, who was still more cruel than Shah-Abbas, and not so good a soldier or politician, and who was stupified in debauchery, had an unhappy reign. The grand Mogul, Shah Gean, took Candahar from the Persians, and sultan Amurath IV. took Bagdat by assault in 1638.

Since that time you may perceive the Persian monarchy visibly declining, till at length the effeminacy of the dynasty of the Sophis completed its ruin. The eunuchs governed both the seraglio and the empire, under Sophi Musa and Hussein, the last of that race. It is the greatest debasement to human nature, and the particular scandal of the East, to deprive men of their virility; and it is the highest stretch of despotism to trust the reins of government to the hands of such wretches: where-ever they have had great power, the decline and ruin of that state have been the inevitable consequences.

Shah Hussein's weakness reduced the empire to so languid a state, and it was moreover so violently distracted by the factions of the black and white eunuchs, that this dynasty must have fallen

fallen of itself, even had it not been destroyed by Mir-Weis and his Aguans. It has been the fate of Persia, that all its dynasties rose by strength, and were overturned by weakness. Almost all its royal families had the fate of Sardan-pull, or Sardanapalus as he is called. These Aguans, who overturned the Persian state in the beginning of the present century, were an ancient colony of Tartars, inhabiting the mountains of Candahar, between India and Persia. Almost all the revolutions which have changed the fate of these countries have happened by Tartars. The Persians had retaken Candahar from the Mogul, in the year 1650, under Shah-Abbas II. This proved their misfortune. Shah Hussein's minister used the Aguans ill; Mir-Weis, who was no more than a private person, but of a courageous and enterprising spirit, put himself at their head.

This was also one of those revolutions in which the character of the people, by whom it was brought about, had a greater share than the characters of their leaders; for Mir-Weis having been assassinated, and his place filled up by another barbarian, named Mahmud, who was his own nephew, and no more than eighteen years old, it was not likely that this young man could do much of himself, or that he could manage these troops of undisciplined mountaineers, as our generals conduct regular armies. Hussein's government was fallen into contempt, and the province of Candahar having begun the insurrection, the provinces of Caucasus on the side of Georgia revolted also. At length Mahmud laid siege to Ispahan in the year 1722. Shah Hussein gave up the capital

to him, abdicated the kingdom at his feet, and acknowledged him as his master, and thought himself happy that Mahmud would condescend to marry his daughter.

In all the scenes of human cruelty and miseries which have fell under our observation, since the time of Charlemagne, there is not any so horrible as the consequences which attended the revolution in Persia. Mahmud thought there was no other way to confirm his power, but by putting to death the principal citizens, with their families. The whole kingdom of Persia has been for these last thirty years what Germany was before the peace of Westphalia, France in the time of Charles, and England in the wars of the white and red roses. But Persia had fallen from a more flourishing state into a greater abyss of misfortunes.

Religion had likewise a share in these calamities. The Aguans were followers of Omar, and the Persians of Ali; and this Mahmud, who was chief of the Aguans, mixed the most despicable superstition with the most detestable cruelties. He died mad in the year 1725, after having laid Persia waste. A fresh usurper of the Aguan nation succeeded him, called Afras. The desolation of Persia now redoubled on all sides. The Turks over-run it on the side of Georgia, the ancient Colchis. The Russians fell upon its provinces to the north-west of the Caspian Sea, as far as the gates of Derbent, in the country of Shervan, which was the ancient Iberia and Albania. We are not told what became of the dethroned Schah-Husein during all these troubles. This prince is known only

by having served as an æra to the miseries of his country.

One of this emperor's sons, named Thamas, who had escaped the massacre of the Imperial family, still found some faithful subjects, who gathered about him in Taurus. Times of civil wars and commotions always produce extraordinary men, who would have remained unnoticed in peaceable times. A shepherd's son* became

* According to the account published by Mr. Frazer, who resided many years in Persia, and perfectly understood the language of the country, Nadir-Kuli (for so he was called) was son to the chief of a clan of the Ufsha tribe, and governor of a fortress in the province of Chorasán. His uncle, having in his minority, usurped this government, Nadir-Kuli entered into the service of the governor of Musnad. He commanded in an expedition against the Tartars, who had made an incursion into Chorasán, and obtained a complete victory over them. Instead of being rewarded for this important service, he had the mortification to see a courtier put over his head, and when he expostulated with the governor of Musnad on this injustice, he received the bastinado, and was turned out of the service. Then he retired to the place of his nativity, where he met with a very cold reception from his uncle and other relations, and being reduced to indigence, robbed on the highway. He conducted himself in this occupation with such address, that in a little time his gang amounted to five hundred choice men in arms, with whom he laid the whole country under contribution. He was afterwards joined by fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sif O'denbeg, a general in the army of Shah Thamas, which he abandoned on receiving intimation that his sovereign intended to take away his life. Nadir-Kuli was now become so formidable, that his uncle made advances to him, and even procured his pardon from Shah Thamas, on condition that he should enter into the service of his sovereign. In consequence of this reconciliation, he was feasted in the fortress, the government of which was his hereditary right; and he took

became the protector of prince Thamas, and the support of that throne which he afterwards

took that opportunity of seizing the place, after having assassinated the uncle: thus he became master of all the adjacent country. Shah Thamas being threatened with immediate ruin, hemmed in by the Afghans on one side, and the Turks on the other, thought proper to make use of Nadir-Kuli, whom he once more pardoned, and admitted into his service. Though Nadir acted in an inferior station, he soon stemmed the tide of the Turkish success, which had been for some time uninterrupted. He repulsed them on several occasions, and ingratiated himself with his prince to such a degree, that he was declared general of the Persian army in the year 1728. He now discovered great military talents, defeated the enemy in various engagements, and obtained a great victory over the Afghans, which was so agreeable to Shah Thamas, that, as the greatest honour he could confer on his general, he complimented him with his own name; so that from this period, he was called Thamas Kuli-Khan, which signifies lord Thomas. He now demanded the power of levying money throughout the whole kingdom, for the payment of the army; a power, which as it rendered him absolute, Shah Thamas granted with great reluctance. He moreover appointed him generalissimo and governor of Chorasán, and gave him his own aunt in marriage. In return for these favours, he, in a little time, deposed his prince, on pretence that he had made a scandalous peace with the Turks; and confined him in Tabustán, under a guard of six thousand Afghans. His next step was to seat upon the throne the infant son of Shah Thamas, who was now declared king by the appellation of Shah-Abbas III. Immediately after this revolution, he marched against the Turkish general Topal Othman Basha, whose army amounted to sixty thousand men, and routed it with great slaughter, the Basha himself having been slain in the beginning of the action. He continued to reduce place after place, until the Turks were driven out of all their conquests: he obliged the Russians to evacuate the places they had taken in Persia, and concluded peace with both. Having thus restored the tranquility of the kingdom, he sum-

wards usurped. This man, who had raised himself to the rank of the greatest conquerors, was called Nadir. He kept his father's sheep in the plains of Chorasan, a part of the ancient Hyrcania and Bactria. We must not figure to ourselves these shepherds the same as ours. The pastoral life, which has been preserved in several countries in Asia, is not without its opulency. The tents of some of these rich shepherds are of much greater value than the houses of some of our best farmers. Nadir sold several large

moned all the rulers of provinces, chiefs of tribes, and governors of cities, to attend him on a certain day, when they came, to the number of six thousand, and found him encamped on a plain, at the head of an army amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand men. He told them he had now re-established the peace of his country, and intended to spend the rest of his days in retirement; he therefore desired they would elect a prince capable of governing them, and deliberate three days upon the choice. In the mean time, his emissaries gave them to understand, that it would be for their own interest, and that of their country, to make him a tender of the crown. The hint was taken, and he accepted the offer on the three following conditions: That the crown should be rendered hereditary in his family; that no person, on pain of death and confiscation, should take arms in favour of the dethroned family, on any pretence whatsoever; and that in point of religion, a coalition should be effected between the sects of Ali and the Sunni. The chief priest remonstrating against this third article, Kuli-Khan ordered him to be strangled immediately: then the electors and the people agreed to what he had proposed, and took the oath of allegiance; and he was in the month of March, in the year 1737, proclaimed emperor of Persia, by the name of Nadir Shah. Perceiving that he had made the clergy his enemies, he seized their lands and revenues for the payment of his army, and published an edict, ordering all his subjects to conform to the Sunni religion, on pain of his royal displeasure.

stocks belonging to his father, and with the money put himself at the head of a troop of banditti; a thing which is still very common in these countries, where the people have retained the manners of antiquity. He offered himself and his troop to prince Thamas; and by dint of ambition, courage, and activity, rose to the command of an army. He then took the name of Thamas Kouli-Khan, or the Khan Thamas's slave: but the slave was the master under this prince, who was as weak and effeminate as his father Hussein. He retook Ispahan and all Persia; pursued the new king Astraf, as far as Candahar; overcame and took him prisoner, and caused his head to be struck off, after having first plucked out his eyes. 1729

Kouli-Khan having thus replaced prince Thamas on the throne of his ancestors, and put it in his power to be ungrateful, resolved to prevent his being so, and shut him up in the capital of Chorasán. He still continued to act under the name of the prince he kept a prisoner. He made war upon the Turk, well knowing that his power was to be strengthened only by those means by which he first acquired it. He beat the Turks at Erivan, retook all that country, and secured his conquests by making a peace with the Russians. And now he caused himself to be declared king of Persia, under the name of Shah Nadir. On this occasion he did not forget the old custom of putting out the eyes of those who had any title to the throne, which piece of cruelty he practised upon his own sovereign Shah Thamas. The same armies which had served to desolate

Persia now assisted in rendering her formidable to her neighbours. Kouli-Khan put the Turks several times to flight. At length he made an honourable peace with them, by which they restored to him all that they had ever taken from the Persians, excepting Bagdat and its territories.

Kouli-Khan, loaded with crimes and glory, proceeded next to make the conquest of India, as we shall see in the following chapter. At his return to his own country, he found a party formed for the princes of the royal family who were still in being; and in the midst of these new commotions he was assassinated by his own nephew, like Mir-Weis the first author of the revolution. Persia then became once more the theatre of civil wars. So many devastations destroyed commerce and the arts in this country, by destroying a part of the inhabitants; but where the land is fruitful and the nation industrious, every thing is repaired again in the end.



CHAP. CLXIII.

OF the MOGUL.

THIS prodigious variety of manners, customs, laws, and revolutions, which have all the same principle of interest, constitutes the historical picture of the universe. We have not seen, either in Persia or Turkey, a son in rebellion against his father. In India you behold the two sons of the Great Mogul, Gehan Guir,

Guir, making war successively against their father, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. One of these princes, named Shah Gehan, made himself master of the empire in 1627, after the death of his father, Gehan Guir, in prejudice of a grandson whom he had left his successor. The order of succession was not settled by law in Asia, as it is in the European nations. These people had one source of evils more than us.

Shah Gehan, who had rebelled against his father, in the end saw his children rise up against him. It is difficult to comprehend how sovereigns, who could not hinder their own children from raising armies against them, could be so absolute as some would persuade us they are. India appears to have been governed nearly in the same manner as the kingdoms of Europe at the time of the great feuds. The governors of the provinces of Indostan were masters in their own governments, and viceroys were given to the emperor's children. This must manifestly be an eternal subject of civil wars: accordingly, as soon as the emperor Shah Gehan began to decline in his health, his four children, who had each the command of a province, took up arms for the succession. They agreed in dethroning their father, and made war upon each other. Exactly the same thing happened here as to Lewis the Feeble, or the Debonnair. The most wicked of the four brothers, Aurengzeb, proved the most fortunate.

The same hypocrisy which all have remarked in Cromwell was found in this Indian prince, together with the same dissimulation and cruelty, but with a more unnatural heart. He at

first joined with one of his brothers, and made himself master of the person of his father Shah Gehan, whom he kept ever afterwards in prison: he then assassinated this very brother, whom he had made use of as a dangerous instrument, which he was now resolved to get rid of; after which he pursued his other two brothers, whom he conquered, and caused to be strangled one after another.

The old emperor, however, was still living, but kept under the most rigorous confinement by his son Aurengzeb; and his name was often made use of as a pretext for carrying on plots against the tyrant. At length, his father being taken with a slight indisposition, he sent his own physician to attend him, and the old man died. It was generally believed throughout Asia, that Aurengzeb had poisoned him. No man was ever a stronger instance that success is not the reward of virtue. This man, stained with the blood of his brothers, and guilty of his father's death, succeeded in all his undertakings, and died in 1707, after having attained the age of an hundred and three*. Never

* His three brothers were called Dara-cha, Morat-Bakchi, and Sultan-Sujah. His elder brother, Dara-cha, after having been defeated by him in a bloody battle, was betrayed into his hands and beheaded. He imprisoned Morat-Bakchi in the fortress of Genateor, and Sultan-Sujah fled into the kingdom of Arakan. Aurengzeb resembled Oliver Cromwell in his superstition, as well as in his perfidy and ambition; for, when he ascended the throne, he imposed a penance on himself for the expiation of his crimes. He lived upon barley bread, herbs, and sweatmeats, and drank nothing but water. This temperance, no doubt, contributed to his longevity, though it never reached to the age of one hundred,

had any prince a longer or more fortunate career. He added to the Mogul's empire, the kingdoms of Visapour and Golconda, all the country of Carnate, and almost the whole of that great isthmus which confines the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. This man, who would have suffered the most ignominious death, had he been tried by the common laws of nations, was, without contradiction, the most powerful prince in the universe.

The magnificence of the kings of Persia, dazzling as it may appear to us, was only the attempt of a middling court, to shew something like splendor, in comparison with the riches of Aurengzeb.

In all times the Asiatic princes have accumulated treasures, their riches consisting in what they can heap up; whereas the wealth of the European princes consists in the money that circulates in their dominions. The treasure amassed by Tamerlane was still in being, and his successors had been continually adding to it. Aurengzeb increased it by most astonishing riches. One of his thrones only was valued by Tavernier at one hundred and sixty millions of the money of his time, which is more than three hundred millions of the present currency. The canopy of this throne was supported by twelve pillars of gold, surrounded with large pearls. The canopy itself was of pearls and diamonds, and at the top was a peacock, who spread a tail of precious stones: all the rest was in proportion to this astonishing magnificence. The greatest festival of the year was that day on which the emperor was weighed in a pair of golden scales in presence of the people, and on this day he

received presents to the amount of above fifty millions.

If ever climate influenced the manners of men, it is assuredly that of India. The emperors display the same luxury, and lead the same effeminate lives as those Indian kings mentioned by Quintus Curtius; and the Tartars, who conquered this country, have insensibly adopted the same manners and become Indians.

All this excess of opulence and luxury only served to make the state more unhappy. In the year 1739, the same thing happened to Mahamad-Shah, Aurengzeb's grandson, as befel Cræsus, to whom it was said, "You have indeed much gold, but he that can make a better use of steel than you, will deprive you of this gold."

Thamas Kouli-Khan, who had raised himself to the throne of Persia, after having deposed his sovereign, conquered the Afghans, and took Candahar, pursued his success, and marched to the capital of India, for no other reason than to deprive the Mogul of all those treasures which his ancestors had taken from the Indians. There is not an instance of so numerous an army as that which the great Mogul raised against Thamas Kouli-Khan, nor of so weak a conduct as that of this prince. He brought twelve hundred thousand men, ten thousand pieces of cannon, and two thousand armed elephants, into the field, to oppose the conqueror of Persia, who had with him only sixty thousand men. Darius did not bring so great a force against Alexander.

It is farther said, that this vast multitude of Indians was covered by intrenchments six leagues
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in length, on that side by which Kouli-Khan could attack them. So prodigious an army was sufficient to surround its enemies, cut them off from all communication, and destroy them by famine, in a country with which they were unacquainted. Instead of that, the little Persian army besieged the great one, cut off its supplies of provisions, and destroyed it piecemeal. The great mogul, Mahamad, seemed to have come thither only to make a parade of his vain grandeur, and subject it to the power of these disciplined robbers: in fact, he came and humbled himself to Thamas Kouli-Khan, who talked to him in a magisterial tone, and treated him as his subject. This conqueror now entered Deli, which is represented as a city larger and more populous than either London or Paris. He dragged this rich and miserable emperor with him where-ever he went. At length he shut him up in a tower, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of India.

Some of the late Mogul's officers, having attempted to seize the opportunity of a night when the Persians were given up to riot and debauch, to take up arms against their conquerors, Thamas Kouli-Khan delivered the city up to plunder, and every thing was ravaged by fire and sword. He carried off much greater riches from Deli than the Spaniards had taken at the conquest of Mexico. These immense treasures, which had been amassed by a continual rapine of four centuries, and were carried away into Persia by another rapine, have not prevented the Persians from being a long time the most miserable people upon earth. These riches are dispersed or buried, during the

civil wars, till such time as some future tyrant should again gather them together.

Kouli-Khan, when he left India to return into Persia, had the vanity to leave the title of emperor to Mahamad-Shah, whom he had dethroned; but he committed the government of the empire to a viceroy, who had brought up the great mogul, and had made himself independent of him. He separated three kingdoms from this vast empire, viz. Cachemire, Caboul, and Multan, to incorporate them with Persia, and imposed a tribute of several millions on Indostan.

Indostan then was governed by the viceroy and a council, appointed by Thamas Kouli-Khan. Mahamad, who still retained the title of king of kings, and sovereign of the universe, was a mere phantom. All things had now resumed their common course, when Kouli-Khan was assassinated in Persia in the midst of his triumphs: since that the Mogul has ceased to pay the tribute, and the provinces which had been taken from the empire by the Persian victor have been reannexed to it.

We are not to believe that this king of kings, Mahamad, was despotic before his misfortunes; Aurengzeb had made himself such by vigilance, conquest, and cruelty. Despotism is a violent state, which seems not capable of duration. It is impossible that in an empire where viceroys keep armies of twenty thousand men in their pay, that these viceroys should ever pay a long or blind obedience to their sovereign. The lands which the emperor bestows on these viceroys become from that instant independent of him. We must be careful how we give credit

credit to that erroneous assertion, that in India the product of the people's labours all belong to one man. There are several Indian casts who still preserve their old possessions. The rest of the lands have been given to the grandees of the empire, the rajas, the nabobs, and the omras. These lands are cultivated as in other places, by farmers, who enrich themselves by it, and by colons, who work for their masters. The lower class of people are poor in India, notwithstanding the riches of the country, as they are in almost every other part of the world; but they are not bond slaves, nor confined to a particular spot, as they were formerly in Europe, and still continue to be in Poland, Bohemia, and several of the countries of Germany. The peasant throughout all Asia is at liberty to leave his native country whenever he is discontented with his situation, and go in search of a better where he can find it.

The sum of what we have to say of India in general is, that it is governed as a conquered country by thirty tyrants who acknowledge an emperor, sunk like themselves into luxury and debauch, and who devour the substance of the people. There are no fixed courts of justice here, the depositaries of the laws, which protect the weak against the powerful.

It is a problem very difficult to solve, that the gold and silver which comes from America into Europe, should be continually carried into Indostan, and there swallowed up, never again to appear: and that nevertheless the people should be in general poor, and work almost for nothing. But the reason is, that the money does not go among the people,

people, it goes to the merchants, who pay immense duties to the governors; these governors give a great part of their profits to the great mogul, and hide the rest. Man's labour is worse payed in this, the richest country of the earth, than any where else; because in every country the pay of a day labourer seldom exceeds his subsistence and cloathing; now the extreme fruitfulness of the soil in India, and the heat of the climate, make subsistence and cloathing come to little or nothing. The labourer who seeks for diamonds in the mines, earns enough to buy him a little rice, and a cotton shirt: in all countries the rich have the services of the poor upon easy terms.

I shall not repeat what I have already said of those idolaters who are still found in great numbers in India: their superstitions are the same as they were in Alexander's time. The Bramins teach the same religion; the women still throw themselves into the fire, which is lighted to burn their husband's body, as has been frequently seen by our travellers and merchants. The disciples of a sect sometimes make a point of honour of not surviving their masters. Tavernier relates, that he was witness to a transaction of this nature, even in Agra, one of the capital cities of India. A bramin having died, an Indian merchant who had studied under him, came to the Dutch lodge, settled his accounts with them, and told them that he was resolved to follow his master into the other world, and actually starved himself to death, in spite of all their endeavours to persuade him to live.

One thing worthy of observation is, that the arts hardly ever go out of the families where they

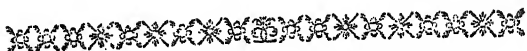
they are cultivated: the daughters of artificers never marry but with those of their fathers trade. This is a very ancient custom in Asia, and was formerly a standing law in Egypt.

The law in Asia and Africa, which has always allowed a plurality of wives, cannot be put in practice by the poor people. The rich have always reckoned their wives as part of their fortunes, and have kept eunuchs to take care of them. This has been a custom time out of mind in India, as well as throughout all Asia. When the Jews wanted a king above three thousand years ago, Samuel their magistrate and high priest, who opposed the establishment of the regal power, remonstrated to the Jews, that a king would lay taxes upon them for the support of his eunuchs. Men must have been for a long time accustomed to slavery not to look upon such a custom as very extraordinary.

While I was about finishing this chapter, a new revolution has turned every thing upside down in Indostan. The tributary princes, and the viceroys, have all shaken off the yoke. The people in the inland countries have dethroned their sovereign. India, like Persia, is become the seat of civil wars. These disasters shew us, that the administration was very bad, and at the same time, that this pretended despotism had no real existence. The emperor was not even powerful enough to make himself obeyed by a raja.

Our travellers have imagined that arbitrary power resided essentially in the person of the great mogul, because Aurengzeb subjected

every thing to his will. They have not considered that this power is founded wholly on the right of arms, and lasts no longer than he who exercises it has the command of a strong army : and that this very despotism which destroys every thing, is likewise its own destroyer. It is not a form of government, but a subversion of all government. It adopts caprice for rule, and does not support itself by the laws, which can alone ensure its duration ; and this colossus falls to the ground the instant its arm ceases to be outstretched. From its ruins there arise several petty tyrannical governments, and the state never resumes a settled form till the laws are restored to their due functions.



CHAP. CXLIV.

OF CHINA in the Seventeenth Century, and at the beginning of the Eighteenth.

IT can certainly be of very little use to you to know that in the Chinese dynasty, which reigned after the Tartar dynasty of Gengiscan, the emperor Quancum succeeded Kincum, and Kincum Quancum. It is sufficient that these names are found in the chronological tables ; but as you confine your attention wholly to events and manners, you will readily pass over these void spaces to come at times distinguished by great things. The same effeminacy which proved the ruin of Persia and India occasioned a more thorough revolution in China in the last century, than that brought about
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by Gengis-can and his sons. The Chinese empire, at the beginning of the seventeenth century was in a much happier state than either India, Persia, or Turkey. It is not in human imagination to form a better plan of government than that by which the great courts of justice are regulated, who are all subordinate to one another, and whose members must undergo the strictest examination before they are admitted. These courts regulate all matters in China. There are six supreme courts who preside over all the other courts in the empire. The first inspects into the conduct of all the mandarins; the second manages the finances; the third superintends the religious ceremonies, and the arts and sciences; the fourth directs the affairs relative to war; the fifth overlooks the courts set apart for judging criminal causes; and the sixth has the care of public works. The result of the several decisions is carried before a supreme tribunal*. Under these six courts there are forty-four subaltern ones, who sit at Pekin. Every mandarin of a province or a city is assisted by a court. It is impossible that under such an administration an emperor can ever exercise arbitrary power. He has indeed the making of the general laws; but, by the constitution of the state, he can do nothing

* How can these six sovereign courts be at the head of all the courts in the empire, if their decisions are referred to one that is supreme? The truth is, there are two supreme councils, one styled Extraordinary, consisting of the princes of the blood only; the other, Ordinary, composed of some princes of the blood, assisted by a number of kolaws, or ministers of state: and to these supreme councils the other six tribunals are subordinate.

without first consulting men learned in the laws and chosen by suffrage. Although the emperor's subjects always prostrate themselves before him as if he was a God, and that the least failure in respect to his person is punished as an act of sacrilege; still this does not prove his government to be despotic and arbitrary. A despotic government * would be that where the prince may, without infringing the laws, deprive a subject of his fortune or life without form of trial, and for no other reason than that it is his will. Now, if ever there was a state in which the life, honour, and fortune of the subject was under the protection of the laws, it is that of China. The greater the number of public bodies who are guardians of the laws, the less arbitrary is that government; and if the sovereign sometimes makes an ill use of his power against the few who are immediately under his cognizance, he cannot do so with respect to the multitude who are not known to him, and who live under the protection of the laws.

Husbandry, which has been carried to a greater degree of perfection there than was ever known in Europe, sufficiently shews that the people were not burthened with those taxes which put a check to the industry of the husbandman. The great numbers of those employed in giving pleasure to others, shew that

* That prince is despotic who assents to laws made for the regulation of his subjects; but can himself dispense with these laws for his own convenience or caprice, without being called in question. That is a despotic government in which the people are bound by certain laws; but the prince is bound by none,

the towns were as flourishing as the country was fertile. There is not a city in the empire which had not its feasts and shows. They did not like us go to the play-houses; they sent for whole companies of comedians to their own houses. The comic and tragic art was common among them, but without being in great perfection; for the ancients have not improved any of the arts of genius excepting morality; but they enjoyed to a degree of profusion such as they knew; and, in a word, were as happy as human nature can be.

This happiness was succeeded in the year 1630, by the most terrible catastrophe and universal desolation that could befall a state. The family of the Tartar conquerors, descendants of Gengis-Can, had done what all other conquerors had endeavoured to do: they weakened a nation of conquerors, that they might not, while in possession of the throne, have the same revolution to fear from the vanquished that themselves had caused. This dynasty, which was that of Ivan, having been afterwards expelled by the dynasty of Ming, the Tartars who lived to the northward of the great wall, were looked upon only as a kind of savages, from whence there was nothing to hope nor to fear. Beyond the great wall lies the kingdom of Leaotong, incorporated by the Gengis family with the empire of China, and become wholly Chinese. To the north end of Leaotong, there were some herds of Mantchou Tartars, whom the viceroy of Leaotong treated with an oppressive severity. They made some bold representations, such as we are told the Scythians did ever after the invasion of their country by Cyrus; for
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the genius of a people is always the same till a long course of oppression occasions them to degenerate.

All the answer the governor made to their complaint was, to burn their cabbins, carry away their flocks, and endeavour to transplant the inhabitants. Then these Tartars, who were free, chose a chief of their own to carry on a war against their oppressors. This chief, who was called Taitfou, soon made himself king : he beat the Chinese, entered victorious into Leaotong, and took the capital by assault.

This war was carried on in the same manner as those of distant times. Fire arms were at that time unknown in this part of the world. The ancient arms were the only ones in use ; such as arrows, spears, clubs, and scimitars : they made a little use of bucklers and helmets ; but there were very few coats of mail. Their fortifications consisted in a ditch, a wall, and towers upon it : they sapped the wall, or mounted it by scaling ladders. The victory depended solely upon bodily strength ; and the Tartars, who were accustomed to sleep in the open fields, must necessarily have the advantage over a people bred up in a more delicate manner.

Taitfou, the first chief of the Tartar hords, dying in the year 1626, at the beginning of his victories ; his son Taitfong immediately took the title of Emperor of the Tartars, and put himself upon a level with the emperor of China. It is said that he could read and write ; and it appears that he acknowledged only one God, like the Chinese literati ; for he thus expresses himself in one of the circular letters which he wrote to the magistrates of the Chinese provinces :

“Tien raises up whom he pleases; perhaps he may have chosen me to be your master.” And, in fact, after the year 1628 Tien caused him to gain victory after victory. He was a man of great abilities; he civilized his brutal followers, to make them more obedient, and established laws in the midst of war. He always headed his troops in person; and the emperor of China, Hoaitfang, whose name has been lost in obscurity, remained shut up in his palace, with his women and eunuchs, and was the last emperor of the Chinese race: he was not able to prevent Taitfong and his Tartars from taking from him all his northern provinces, nor yet to suppress the rebellion of one of his mandarins, named Litching, who seized upon the southern ones. While the Tartars were ravaging the countries to the eastward and northward, this Litching made himself master of all the rest. It is said that he had six hundred thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand infantry. He came with the flower of his army before Peking, where the emperor still continued shut up in his palace, and was ignorant of great part of what was doing. The rebel Litching, (for he is so called, as not having succeeded,) sent back to the emperor two of his chief eunuchs whom he had made prisoners, with a very short letter, in which he exhorted him to quit the empire.

And here we may see an instance of the Asiatic pride, and how well it agrees with the general effeminacy of their manners. The emperor ordered the two eunuchs to have their heads struck off, for having brought him a disrespectful letter; and his courtiers had much ado to make him sensible that the heads of the prin-

ces of the blood, and a great number of mandarins, whom Liffching had in his power, would be made to answer for the death of the eunuchs.

While the emperor was deliberating upon what answer he should send back, Liffching had already entered the city. The empress had barely time enough to save some of her sons; after which she shut herself up in her apartment, and there hanged herself. The emperor immediately ran thither, and being greatly taken with this instance of conjugal fidelity, he exhorted the rest of his wives, to the number of forty, to follow the example. Father Mailla, the Jesuit, who wrote this account in Pekin itself, in the last century, says, that all these women obeyed without replying; but it is very possible that there might be a few of them who wanted assistance. The emperor, whom this writer represents as a very good kind of a prince, perceiving, after the execution, his only daughter, about fifteen years old, whom the empress had not thought proper to expose out of the seraglio, he exhorted her to hang herself, as well as her mother and mothers-in-law; but the young princess desiring to be excused, this very good prince, as Mailla calls him, gave her a violent blow with his sabre, and left her dead. It may be expected that such a father and an husband would have slain himself upon the dead bodies of his wives and his daughter; but he retired to a pavillion without the city, to wait for news; and being at length informed that every thing was desperate, and that Liffching had taken possession of his palace, he strangled himself, and at once put an end to

an empire and a life which he had not had the courage to defend *. This extraordinary event happened in the year 1641. It was under this last emperor of the Chinese race that the Jesuits at length made their way into the court of Peking. Father Adam Schall, a native of Cologne, had so far gained the good graces of this emperor, by his knowledge in physicks and the mathematics, that he made him a mandarin. He was the first who shewed the Chinese how to cast brass cannon; but the few that were in Peking were not sufficient to save the empire:

* This catastrophe is differently related by father Duhalde and Palafox. This last says, that the emperor being abandoned even by his guards, retired with his empress into a small wood, incapable of uttering one word, such was the excess of his grief. The empress, having tenderly embraced him, hanged herself with a silken cord. The emperor having drank a glass of wine, though at other times averse to that liquor, bit his own finger, to produce an effusion of blood, with which he wrote a long letter, complaining of the treachery of his officers, lamenting the ruin of his empire, and the extinction of his family; concluding with this declaration, that as he had lost every thing for which he chose to live, he thought it high time to part with life itself. Duhalde says, he wrote the following sentence on the border of his vest: "I have been basely deserted by my subjects: do what you will with me, but spare my people." Then he cut off his daughter's head with one stroke of his scymetar, and hanged himself. The traitor Li insulted his body, and murdered all his surviving children, except his eldest son, who escaped. U-sang-ghey, who commanded the imperial forces, in the province of Lyan-tong, instead of acknowledging the usurper, made peace with the Manchew Tartars, and their king, Tsong-te, joined him with fourcore thousand men. Li fled from Peking; and Tsong-te dying, was succeeded by his infant son, Sun-chi, who, in process of time ascended the imperial throne of China.

besides, they did not know how to manage them. Mandarin Schall left Peking before the revolution.

After the emperor's death, the Tartars and the rebels disputed the empire with each other. The Tartars were united and disciplined, the Chinese divided and undisciplined. They were obliged to give way by little and little to the Tartars. That nation had taken a kind of spirit of superiority which did not depend upon their leader: it was with them as it had been with Mahomet's Arabians, who were so formidable of themselves for upwards of three hundred years.

The death of emperor Taitsong, whom the Tartars lost at that time, did not prevent them from pursuing their conquests. They chose one of his nephews, who was yet a child, in his stead: this was Chang-ti, father of the famous Camg-hi, under whom the Christian religion has made such a progress in China. These people, who had first taken up arms in defence of their liberty, were not acquainted with hereditary right. We see that all nations have begun by choosing persons to head them in war, and afterwards these chiefs have become absolute, excepting in some of the European nations. Hereditary right has been established and made sacred by time.

A minority has been the ruin of almost all conquerors, and yet it was during the minority of Chang-ti that the Tartars completed the reduction of China. The usurper, Litsching, was slain by another Chinese usurper, who pretended to revenge the death of the late emperor. Several of the provinces set up true or false
child-

children of their dead prince, like the Demetrius in Russia. The Chinese mandarins endeavoured to usurp the provinces; but the more powerful Tartarian usurpers at length got the better of all. There was a Chinese general, who for some time checked their progress, by having a few cannon which he had procured either from the Portuguese of Macao, or which were some of those cast by the Jesuit Schall. It is very remarkable that the Tartars, who were entirely destitute of artillery, should prevail over those who were provided with it: this was the very reverse of what happened in the new world, and a proof of the superiority of the northern people over those of the south.

What is most surprising is, that the Tartars conquered all this vast empire of China, foot by foot, and under a minority; for their young emperor Chang-ti, dying in 1661, when barely twenty-four years old, and before their dominion was firmly established, they elected his son Camg-hi at eight years old, being the same age at which they had chosen his father; and this Camg-hi restored the empire of China, having been so prudent and fortunate as to make himself equally well obeyed both by the Chinese and Tartars. The missionaries, whom he made mandarins, have extolled him as a perfect prince. Some travellers, and especially Le Gentil, who were not mandarins, say that he was sordidly covetous, and full of caprices; but these strokes of private character do not enter into this general picture of the world. It is sufficient that the empire was happy under this prince; it is in this view that we are to regard and judge of kings.

During the course of this revolution, which lasted thirty years, one of the greatest mortifications the Chinese underwent was, that their conquerors obliged them to cut off their hair after the Tartarian manner. There were some who chose to die rather than part with their heads of hair. We have had an instance of the Muscovites raising several seditions when czar Peter I. obliged them to cut off their beards; so forcible is custom among the common people!

Time has not yet confounded the victorious with the vanquished people, as has happened in our Gaul, in England, and elsewhere.

Under the reign of Camg-hi, the European missionaries enjoyed a great degree of credit; several were lodged in the emperor's palace: they built churches, and had opulent houses. In America they had been successful in teaching the necessary arts to savages. In China they had taught the most refined arts to a learned and sensible nation. But jealousy soon destroyed the fruits of their wisdom, and that restlessness and contentious spirit, which is in Europe inseparably connected with learning and talents, overthrew the greatest designs.

The Chinese were astonished to see wise and learned men disagreeing even about what they came to teach, and mutually persecuting and anathematizing one another, entering criminal processes against each other, at the court of Rome, and striving to have it decided in a meeting of cardinals, whether the emperor of China understood his own mother tongue as well as missionaries who were come from France and Italy.

These

These disputes were carried to such a length, that the Chinese government feared or affected to fear the same disorders as had been raised in Japan. Camg-hi's successor therefore forbid the exercise of the christian religion, while the Mahometans and all the different sects of bonzes were permitted to follow theirs. But this court finding the want of the mathematics as great an evil as the pretended danger from a new religion, retained the mathematicians, and contented itself with imposing silence on the missionaries.

There is one event which well merits our attention; this is the famous earthquake which happened in China in the year 1699, in the reign of the emperor Camg-hi. This phenomenon proved more fatal than that which of late years destroyed the cities of Lima and Lisbon. It is said that near four hundred thousand souls perished in it. These shocks must necessarily have been very frequent in our globe: the number of volcano's which vomit out fire and smoke, give reason to think that the outward shell of the earth rests upon vast gulphs filled with an inflammable matter. It is probable that the part which we inhabit has experienced as many revolutions from physical causes; as the nations of the world in general have from rapaciousness and ambition.

C H A P. CLXV.

Of JAPAN, in the Seventeenth Century.

IN the multitude of revolutions which we have seen from one end of the universe to the other, there appears to have been a fated chain of causes by which mankind have been carried away, as the waves and sands are driven by the wind. What has happened in Japan is an additional proof of it: a Portuguese prince, without either power or riches, in the fifteenth century, conceives the notion of sending a few ships to the coast of Africa. Soon afterwards the Portuguese discover Japan. Spain, for a while the sovereign of Portugal, carries on an immense trade with the Japanese. The Christian religion is carried into that country by the means of this trade; and, under favour of the general toleration allowed to all sects in Asia, introduces and establishes itself there. Three Christian princes of Japan make a journey to Rome to kiss the feet of pope Gregory XIII. Christianity is on the point of becoming the prevailing religion of Japan, and in a short time the only one, when its very power proved the means of its destruction. We have already remarked, that the missionaries had a number of enemies there; but they had likewise secured a powerful party in their favour. The bonzes feared the loss of their ancient possessions, and the emperor that of his kingdom. The Spaniards had made themselves masters of the Philippine islands in the neighbourhood of Japan. The Japanese knew how they had acted

acted in America ; no wonder therefore that they took the alarm. The emperor, in the year 1586, had banished the Christian religion from his dominions, and had forbidden the practice of it by his subjects, under pain of death ; but as they still allowed a trade to be carried on with the Portuguese and Spaniards, their missionaries made profelytes as fast as the government condemned them. It was then forbidden to introduce any Christian priests into the country ; but notwithstanding this prohibition, the governor of the Philippine islands sent Franciscan friars, in character of ambassadors to the emperor of Japan. These ambassadors began by building a public chapel in the capital city, called Meaco ; upon which they were driven out of the kingdom, and the persecution was redoubled. There was for a long time a vicissitude of cruelties and indulgence. It is plain that reasons of state were the sole motives to these persecutions ; and that the Christian religion was opposed from the apprehension that it would be made an instrument to favour the designs of the Spaniards ; for the religion of Confucius was never persecuted by the Japanese, tho' introduced by a people of whom they were jealous, and with whom they were frequently at war. That learned and judicious observer, Kempfer, tells us, that in the year 1674 the inhabitants of Meaco being numbered, there were found twelve different religions in that capital, who all lived peaceably ; and that these twelve sects contained upwards of four hundred thousand people, exclusive of the numerous court of the Dairi, the sovereign pontiff. It seems then, that if the Portuguese and Spaniards could have

contented themselves with liberty of conscience, they might have lived as quietly in Japan as the other twelve religions; and, even in the year 1636, they continued to carry on a very profitable trade, seeing that they carried over to Macao two thousand three hundred and fifty chests of silver.

The Dutch, who had traded to Japan ever since the year 1600, were grown jealous of the traffic carried on by the Spaniards. In 1637 they took a Spanish ship off the Cape of Good Hope, bound from Japan to Lisbon, on board of which they found several letters from a Portuguese officer named Moro, who was a kind of consul to that nation. These letters contained the plan of an intended conspiracy of the Christians in Japan against the emperor, specifying the number of ships and troops they expected from Europe and the settlements in Asia, in order to make the scheme succeed. These letters were sent by the Dutch to the court of Japan: Moro owned his hand-writing, and was publicly burnt. Upon this discovery the government chose rather to renounce all the advantages of a trade with strangers, than to see itself exposed to such machinations. The emperor, in an assembly of all the grandes of his kingdom, enacted the famous edict, by which it was enacted, that no Japanese should for the future presume to stir out of the country, under penalty of death; that no stranger should be admitted into the empire; that all the Spaniards and Portuguese be sent away; that all the natives who were Christians should be imprisoned, and that a reward of one thousand crowns

Crowns should be given to any one who should discover a Christian priest. The violence of this procedure in the Japanese, who voluntarily separated themselves from the rest of the world, and gave up all the profits of trade, leaves no room to doubt that the conspiracy was real: but what proves it still more fully, is, that the Christian natives, with some few Portuguese at their head, actually assembled in arms to the number of thirty thousand and more; they were defeated in the year 1638, and retired to a strong hold on the sea-side, in the neighbourhood of the port of Nangasaki.

At the same time all other foreign nations were driven from Japan; even the Chinese were included in this general law, because some missionaries had boasted to the Japanese, that all China was on the point of being converted to Christianity. The Dutch themselves, who had discovered the conspiracy, were expelled as well as the rest; the factory which they had at that time at Ferando was already demolished; their ships were sailed; and only one remained, whom the government summoned to fire upon the fortress, whither the Christians had fled for refuge. The Dutch captain, whose name was Kokbeker, performed this horrid service. The Christians were soon forced in their asylum, and put to death with the most excruciating tortures. Once more let me observe, that when we represent to ourselves such strange events, caused in Japan by a Portuguese and a Dutch captain, we cannot but be convinced of the restless spirit of the Europeans, and of the destiny which influences all nations.

The odious service which the Dutch had performed for the Japanese government did not procure them that indulgence they expected from it, which was, to be allowed a free trade and settlements there; however, they obtained permission to land upon a little island near the port of Nangazaki, and there bring a fixed quantity of merchandize.

But they were obliged to trample upon the cross, and renounce all marks of Christianity, and likewise to swear that they were not of the same religion with the Portuguese, before they were admitted into this little island, where they live as it were in a prison; for as soon as they arrive the inhabitants take possession of their ships and goods, upon which they set a price. Thus, for the sake of getting money, they subject themselves every year to this confinement; and those who are kings at Batavia, and in the Molucca Islands, suffer themselves to be here treated as slaves: it is true, they are conducted from this little island to the emperor's court, and are honourably and courteously received wherever they come, but strictly guarded and observed. Their guides and their guards engage in a written oath, signed with their blood, to observe all the actions of the Dutch, and give an exact account of them.

It has been asserted in several books, that the Dutch abjured Christianity at Japan. This opinion had its source in the adventure of a Dutchman, who made his escape and lived for some time among the natives; but being discovered, in order to save his life he said he was no Christian, but a Dutchman. The govern-
ment

ment of Japan has, since this revolution, forbidden the building of vessels fit for going to sea; they have only long barks, worked with sails and oars, for trading to their islands. It is looked upon as the greatest of crimes for strangers to frequent the country; it seems that they are still in dread of the danger they have been in. This fear neither agrees with the courage of the nation, nor with the greatness of the empire; but the horror of the past has operated more with them than the fear of the future. The conduct of the Japanese has been, in every respect, that of a people generous, open, haughty, and extreme in their resolutions. At first they received strangers with cordiality; and when they thought themselves insulted and betrayed by them, they broke off all connections for ever.

When Colbert, that minister of immortal memory, first erected an East-India company in France, he wanted to try if he could not bring about a trade for the French with Japan, by employing only protestants, who might safely swear that they were not of the same religion with the Portuguese; but the Dutch opposed this scheme, and the Japanese, satisfied with receiving one nation amongst them whom they treat as prisoners, would not admit of two*.

I shall

* The reader will perceive that this is a very imperfect picture of Japan, as our author has said nothing relating to the constitution of the government, the laws of the realm, and the genius of the people. Absolute power was, from time immemorial, exercised by the emperors called Dauro, who reigned in a regular succession till the year 1500, when

I shall not take any notice here of the kingdom of Siam, which has been represented to us as much larger and more opulent than it really is. We shall find in the age of Lewis XIV. what little is necessary to be known concerning it. Corea, Cochinchina, Tonquin, Laos, Ava, and Pegu, are countries of which we have very little knowledge; and, amidst the prodigious number of islands scattered about the extremities of Asia, there is only that of Java, where the Dutch have fixed the center of their dominion and trade, that can enter into the plan of our general history. The same may be said of the people who inhabit the middle part of Africa, and an infinite number of smaller nations in the new world. I shall only

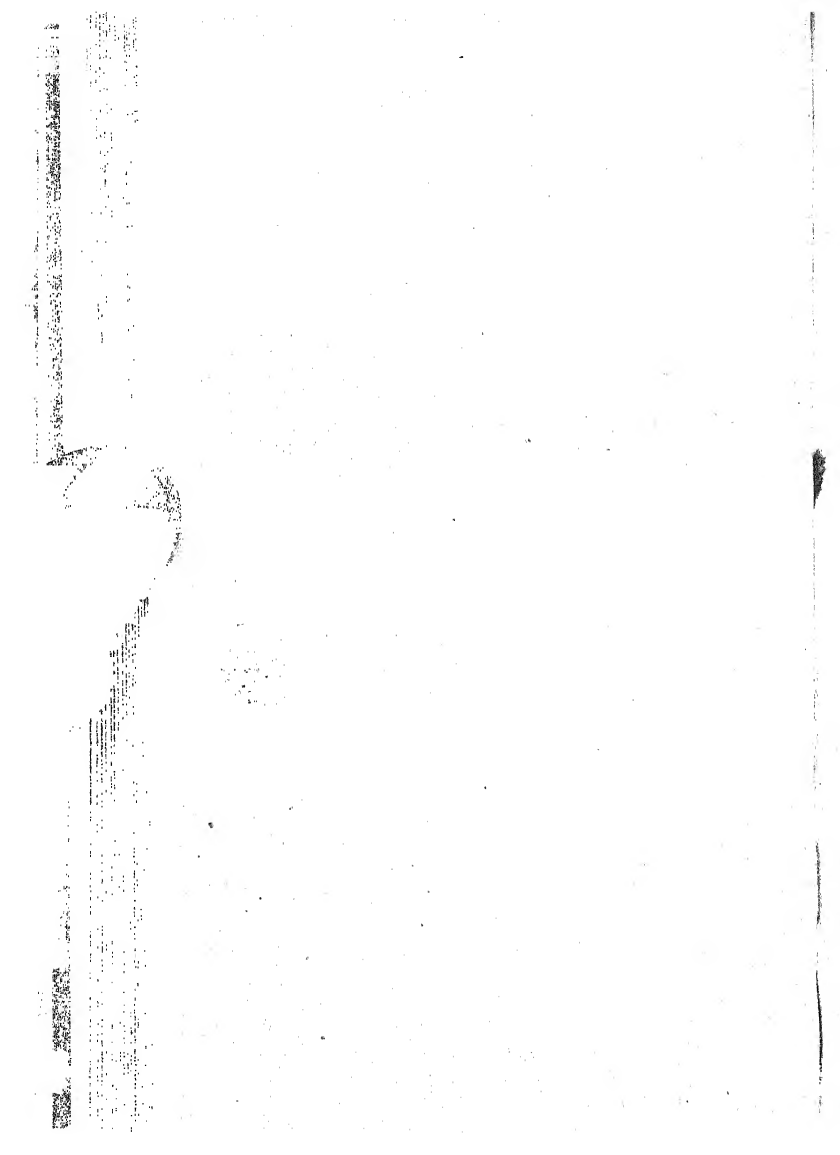
a civil war broke out and involved the whole empire in confusion: during this anarchy, a common soldier raised himself to the imperial dignity, and divesting the Dairo of all his temporal power, allowed him to preside over all religious matters. Since that period the successors of the Dairo have been respected as popes; but the descendants from the usurper have retained all the authority of emperor, though they are modest enough to call themselves Cubo, which signifies minister or vizir. The national religion of Japan is the idolatry of the Bonzes; but a great number of other sects are tolerated: yet all these sects agree in holding five restrictions absolutely binding, viz. not to kill, nor eat any thing that is killed; not to steal; not to commit adultery; not to lye; and not to drink wine. The Japanese have few written laws; but the emperor's will is the supreme law; and every petty prince, governor, or head of a family, has the power of life and death over those that he governs. The Japanese are acute, ingenious, industrious, modest, patient, and covetous; but on the other hand, they are said to be ambitious, cruel and vindictive, uncharitable, unfeeling, and addicted to the most spurious passions, which they publicly gratify with impunity.

observe,

observe, that before the sixteenth century, above one half of the globe was ignorant of the use of bread and wine, which is still unknown to a part of America and the eastern part of Africa; insomuch that we are obliged to carry both those viands thither to celebrate the mysteries of our religion.

Cannibals are much more rare than is usually asserted; none have been seen by any of our travellers for above these fifty years. There are many kinds of men manifestly different from each other. Several nations still live in the state of pure nature; and while we make the tour of the world to discover in their countries wherewithal to satisfy our greediness, these people are not at the trouble of informing themselves whether there exist any other men than themselves, and pass their lives in a happy indolence, which to us would be a degree of misery.

Much yet remains for our vain curiosity to discover; but if we would confine ourselves to what is useful, there is already but too much discovered.



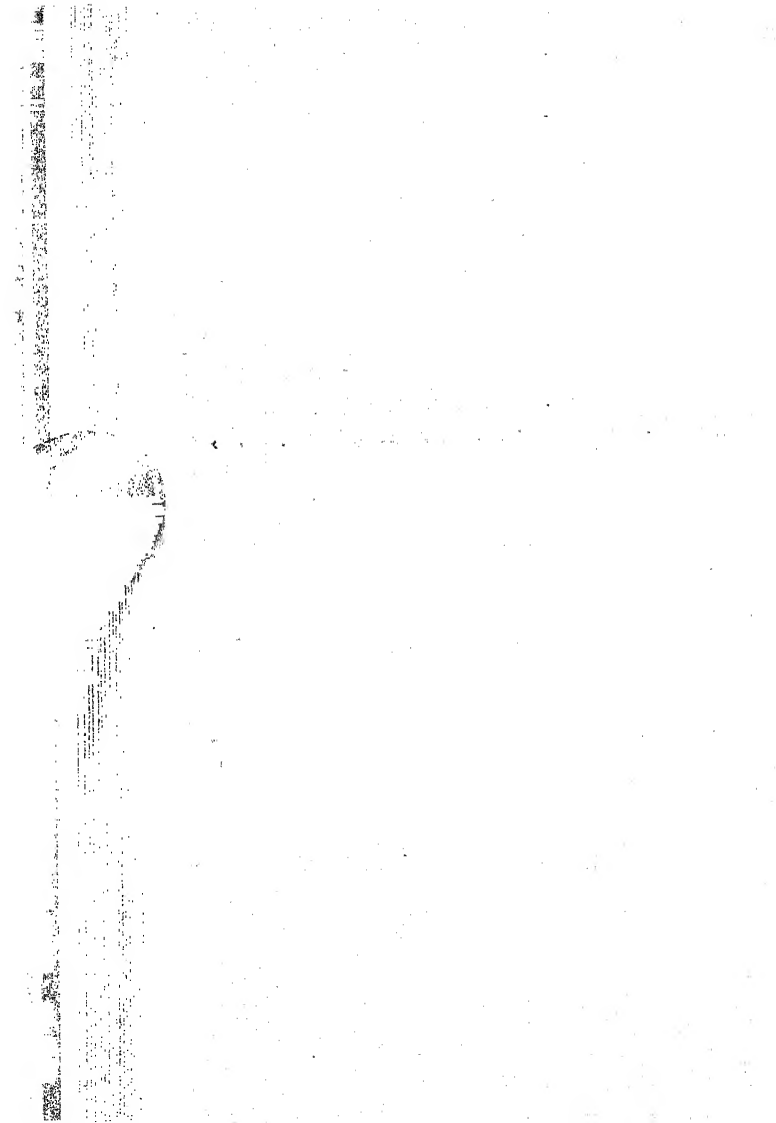
THE
AGE of LEWIS XIV.

BEING

Mr. VOLTAIRE's

GENERAL HISTORY

CONTINUED.



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

AGE of LEWIS XIV.

IT is not only the LIFE OF LEWIS XIV. that we propose to write; we have a greater object in view. We mean to set before posterity not only the portrait of one man's actions, but of the spirit of mankind in general, in the most enlightened of all ages.

Every age has produced heroes and politicians; all nations have experienced revolutions, and all histories are nearly alike, to those who seek only to furnish their memories with facts; but whosoever thinks, or, what is still more rare, whosoever has taste, will find but four ages in the history of the world. These four happy ages are those in which the arts were carried to perfection; and which, by serving as the æra of the greatness of the human mind, are examples for posterity.

The first of these ages to which true glory is annexed, is that of Philip and Alexander, or that of a Pericles, a Demosthenes, an Aristotle, a Plato, an Apelles, a Phidias, and a Praxiteles; and this honour has been confined within the limits of ancient Greece; the rest of the known world was then in a state of barbarism.

The

The second age is that of Cæsar and Augustus, distinguished likewise by the names of Lucretius, Cicero, Titus Livius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Varro, and Vitruvius.

The third is that which followed the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. Then a family of private citizens was seen to do that which the kings of Europe ought to have undertaken. The Medicis invited to Florence the learned, who had been driven out of Greece by the Turks; this was the age of Italy's glory. The polite arts had already recovered a new life in that country; the Italians honoured them with the title of Vertu, as the first Greeks had distinguished them by the name of Wisdom. Every thing tended towards perfection; a Michael Angelo*, a Raphael†, a Titian‡, a Tasso, and

* Michael Angelo Buonaroti flourished in the fifteenth century, and was universally admired for his excellence in the three sister-arts, of painting, statuary, and architecture. He was born of a good family in the county of Arezzo, studied design or drawing under Dominicho Ghirlandajo, and at the age of sixteen began to cut statues in marble, that even bore a comparison with the antique. He was patronized by Laurentio de Medicis at Florence, that great patron of the arts. After the death of Laurentio he went to Rome, where he distinguished himself by many capital performances. He was the most perfect anatomist of his time; had a grand gusto in design, and excelled all his contemporaries in painting naked figures; but his manner was dry, and in every other branch of the art he fell far short of Raphael, whose genius excited his envy. His most famous picture is that of the last judgment; and his masterpiece in architecture the celebrated church of St. Peter. In order to expose the false taste of those who would allow no merit to modern artists, he privately finished the statue of a Cupid, and buried it under ground, in a place which he knew

and an Ariosto flourished. The art of engraving was invented ; elegant architecture appeared again

knew would soon be dug, after having broke off and reserved one of the arms. The statue was accordingly found, and judged by all the connoisseurs to be a genuine antique : then the artist produced the arm, and claimed the honour of the work. He made the model of a colossal statue for pope Julius II. with such a haughty countenance and commanding attitude, that the pontiff asked whether he had raised the right arm in the act of bestowing the benediction, or denouncing the anathema ? He replied, that he was in the attitude of warning the people of Bologna to be more prudent for the future. Then he asked in his turn, if he should put a book in this right-hand ? " No, (said the pope) put a sword in it, I don't pretend to be a man of letters." Michael Angelo was not only painter, statuary, and architect, but likewise a tolerable poet, and his works were published at Florence. The following distich is no bad representation of his character.

*Quis pinxit melius, quis struxit, duxit in ære,
Marmora quis sculpsit, doctius aut cecinit ?*

He was respected and beloved by Leo X. Clement VII. and a succession of popes, as well as by all the civilized princes of his time, Francis I. of France, Charles V. emperor of Germany and king of Spain, Cosmo de Medicis, the Venetian republic, and even Solyman the grand signor. He lived to the age of ninety, died at Rome in 1564, and was interred with great funeral pomp at Florence.

† Raphael D'Urbino, whose real name was Sanzio, lived cotemporary with Buonaroti, and excelled him in composition, beauty, grace, and expression. He was the son of a painter at Urbino, and studied under Pietro Perugino, whose manner however he renounced, as soon as he beheld the works of Leonardi da Vinci and Michael Angelo at Florence. He was recommended to pope Leo X. by his kinsman Bramante, and employed in painting the apartments of the Vatican, where the first picture he finished was the school of Athens. The greatness of his manner he is said to have stolen from sketches of Buonaroti in the chapel of Sixtus IV. to which his friend Bramante introduced him privately.

again as admirable as in the most triumphant ages of Rome; and the Gothic barbarism, which had

privately, against the express prohibition of Michael Angelo. Certain it is, he became the prince of painters, was caressed by all the world, and when he went abroad he always appeared attended by a concourse of men of taste and literature. Buonarroti meeting him one day accompanied in this manner, told him he walked with a retinue like the provost-marshal; "And you (said Raphael) walk all alone like the executioner of the law." Buonarroti was in his disposition proud, haughty, and insolent; whereas Raphael recommended himself to every body's affection, by his affability, generosity, and sweetness of demeanour. The cardinal of St. Eibiano offered him his niece in marriage; but, he expected a hat for himself from pope Leo, and in the mean time died in the thirty-seventh year of his age, in consequence of a fever said to be caught by intemperate venery. He was buried in the rotunda, where his tomb is distinguished by the following epitaph, which cardinal Bembo wrote, and Mr. Pope has translated into English, in honour of Sir Godfrey Kneller.

*Ille hic est Raphael, timuit quo sospite vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori.*

Living, great nature fear'd he would outvie
Her works; and dying, fears herself will die.

The sentiment is truly bombast. Another epitaph, but one degree more modest, was written on Raphael by the celebrated Muretus.

† Titian Vecelli was born in the state of Venice, in the year 1477, and studied painting under Bellini, whom he soon surpassed, as he also did Giorgione. His pictures were greatly admired for his exquisite manner of colouring. He refused a considerable employment at Rome, and was created knight and count-palatine by the emperor Charles V. who sitting one day for his picture, Titian chanced to drop his pencil; which Charles took up, and presenting it to the artist, "Titian (said he) is worthy to be served even by Cæsar." He was also visited and cared

had disfigured Europe in every kind of production, was driven from Italy to make way for good taste.

The arts, always transplanted from Greece to Italy, found themselves in a favourable soil, where they instantly produced fruit. France, England, Germany, and Spain, aimed in their turns to gather these fruits; but either they could not live in those climates, or else they degenerated very fast.

Francis I. encouraged learned men, but such as were merely learned men; he had architects, but he had no Michael Angelo, nor Paladio*; he endeavoured in vain to establish schools for painting; the Italian masters, whom he invited to France, raised no pupils there. Some epigrams, and a few loose tales, made the whole of our poetry. Rabelais† was the only prose writer in vogue in the time of Henry II.

In

fed by Henry III. of France; and celebrated by Ariosto, Marini, and other poets. In a word, he lived in great splendour, and died of the plague in the year 1576.

* Andrea Palladio was a native of Vicenza, and flourished in the sixteenth century. He finished his studies at Rome, where he made himself master of the antique, and became the greatest architect in the world. He first published a commentary on all the works of antiquity at Rome; and in the year 1570 printed his four books on architecture, replete with taste and erudition.

† Francis Rabelais, born at Chinon in Touraine, lived in the sixteenth century. He was first a Cordelier, and afterwards a physician. He distinguished himself by his knowledge of the languages; but his chief recommendation was his humour. He published a Latin translation of the aphorisms of Hippocrates, and several other serious performances, which are now forgotten: but his history of Pantagruel is still admired by all those who have any taste for humour

In a word, the Italians alone were in possession of every thing that was beautiful, excepting music, which was then but in a rude state, and experimental philosophy, which was every where equally unknown.

Lastly, the fourth age is that known by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. and is perhaps that which approaches the nearest to perfection of all the four; enriched by the discoveries of the three former ones, it has done greater things in certain kinds than those three together. All the arts indeed were not carried farther than under the Medicis, Augustus, and Alexander; but human reason in general was more improved. In this age we first became acquainted with sound philosophy; it may truly be said that to begin from the last years of cardinal Richelieu's administration, till those which followed the death of Lewis XIV. that there has happened such a general revolution in our arts, our genius, our manners, and even in our government, that will serve as an immortal mark to the true

humour and satire. He was celebrated by all the wits of his time, such as Buda, Clement Marot, du Bellay, and de Baif. He died at the age of seventy, in the year 1553, and was honoured with divers epitaphs, of which the following seems to be the best adapted.

*Pluton, prince du noir empire,
Ou les tiens ne rient jamais,
Reçois aujourd'hui Rabelais,
Et vous aurez tous de quoi rire.*

He was a favourite with La Fontaine, who being one day in company with the two Boileaus and Racine, when the conversation turned upon St. Augustine, he seemed to wake from a profound reverie, and turning to Boileau the doctor, asked very gravely, if he thought Rabelais was not a greater wit than St. Augustine?

glory

glory of our country. This happy influence has not been confined to France; it has communicated itself to England, where it has stirred up an emulation, which that ingenious and deeply learned nation stood in need of at that time; it has introduced taste into Germany, and the sciences into Russia; it has even re-animated Italy, which was languishing; and Europe is indebted for its politeness and spirit of society to the court of Lewis XIV.

Before this time the Italians called all the people on this side the Alps by the name of Barbarians; it must be owned, that the French in some degree deserved this reproachful epithet. Our forefathers joined the romantic gallantry of the Moors with the Gothic rudeness: they had hardly any of the agreeable arts amongst them, which is a proof that the useful arts were likewise neglected; for when once the things of use are carried to perfection, the transition is quickly made to the elegant and the agreeable; and it is not at all astonishing, that painting, sculpture, poetry, eloquence, and philosophy, should be in a manner unknown to a nation, who, tho' possessed of harbours on the Western Ocean, and the Mediteranean Sea, were without ships; and who, though fond of luxury to an excess, were hardly provided with the most common manufactures.

The Jews, the Genoese, the Venetians, the Portuguese, the Flemish, the Dutch, and the English, carried on in their turns the trade of France, who was ignorant even of the first principles of commerce. Lewis XIII. at his accession to the crown had not a single ship; the city of Paris contained not quite four hundred

dred thousand men, and had not above four fine public edifices; the other cities of the kingdom resembled those pitiful villages which we see on the other side the Loire. The nobility, who were all stationed in the country, in dungeons surrounded with deep ditches, oppressed the peasant who cultivated the land. The high roads were almost impassable; the towns were destitute of police, and the government had hardly ever any credit among foreign nations.

We must acknowledge, that ever since the decline of the Carolingian family, France had languished more or less in this infirm state, merely for want of the benefit of a good administration.

For a state to be powerful, the people must either enjoy a liberty founded on the laws, or the royal authority must be fixed beyond all opposition. In France the people were slaves till the reign of Philip Augustus; the noblemen were tyrants till Lewis XI; and the kings, always employed in maintaining their authority against their vassals, had neither leisure to think about the happiness of their subjects, nor the power of making them happy.

Lewis XI. did a great deal for the regal power, but nothing for the happiness or glory of the nation. Francis I. gave birth to trade, navigation, and all the arts; but he was too unfortunate to make them take root in the nation during his time, so that they all perished with him. Henry the Great was on the point of raising France from the calamities and barbarisms in which she had been plunged by thirty years of discord, when he was assassinated in
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his capital, in the midst of a people whom he had begun to make happy. The cardinal de Richelieu, busied in humbling the house of Austria, the Calvinists, and the grandees, did not enjoy a power sufficiently undisturbed to reform the nation; but he had at least the honour of beginning this happy work.

Thus, for the space of 900 years, our genius has been almost always restrained under a Gothic government, in the midst of divisions and civil wars; destitute of any laws or fixed customs, changing, every second century, a language, which still continued rude and unformed; the nobles were without discipline, and strangers to every thing but war and idleness. The clergy lived in disorder and ignorance, and the common people without industry, and stupified in their wretchedness.

The French had no share either in the great discoveries, or admirable inventions of other nations: they have no title to the discoveries of painting, gun-powder, glasses, telescopes, the sector, compass, the air-pump, or the true system of the universe; they were making tournaments, while the Portuguese and Spaniards were discovering and conquering new countries from the east to the west of the known world. Charles V. had already scattered the treasures of Mexico over Europe, before the subjects of Francis I. had discovered the uncultivated country of Canada; but, by the little which the French did in the beginning of the sixteenth century, we may see what they are capable of when properly conducted.

I propose in this place to shew what they have been

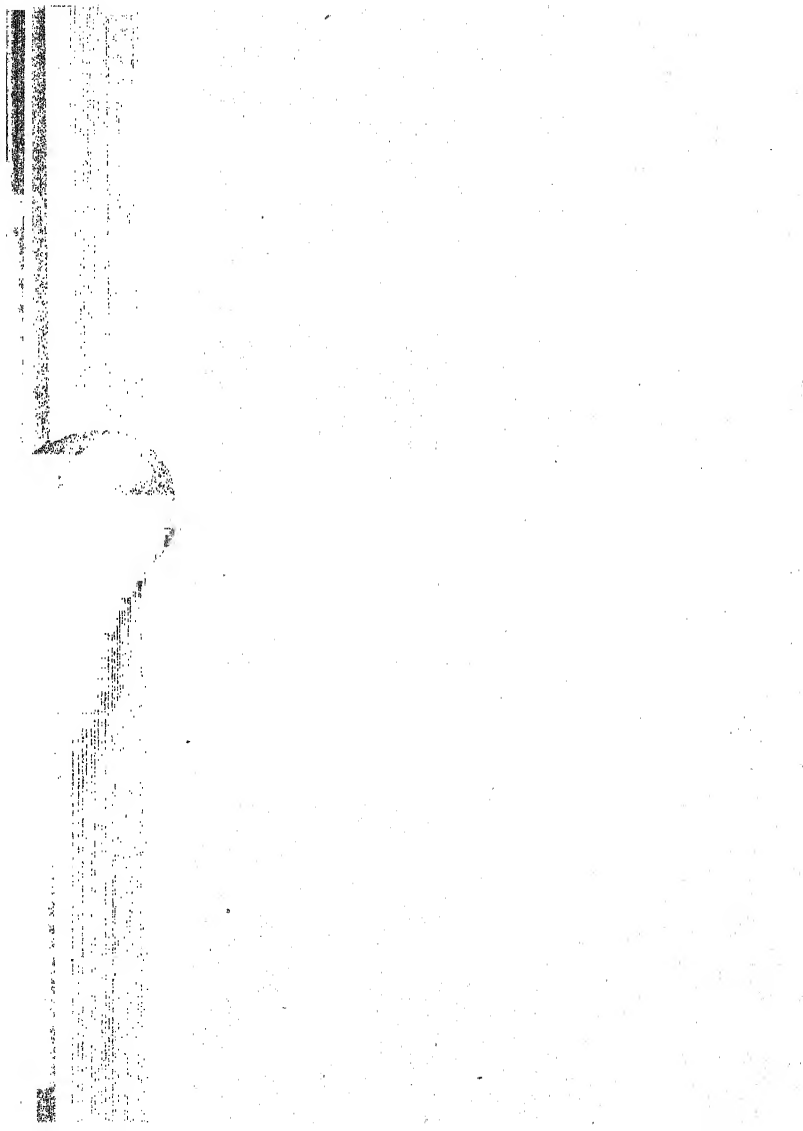
been under Lewis XIV. and it is to be wished that the posterity of this monarch, and that of his subjects, equally animated with an happy emulation, may use their endeavours to surpass their ancestors.

It must not be expected to meet here with a minute detail of the wars carried on in this age: this would be an endless task; we are obliged to leave to the compilers of annals, the care of collecting, with exactness, all these small facts, which would only serve to divert the attention from the principal object. It is their province to point out the marches and counter-marches of armies, and the particular days on which the trenches were opened before towns, which were taken and retaken again by force of arms, or ceded and restored by treaties. A thousand circumstances which are interesting to those who live at the time, are lost to the eyes of posterity, and disappear, to make room for the great events which have determined the fate of empires*. Every transaction is not worthy of being committed to writing. In this history we shall confine ourselves only to what is deserving of the attention of all ages, what paints the genius and manners of mankind, contributes to instruction, and prompts to the love of virtue, of the arts, and of our country.

We have already seen what France and the other kingdoms of Europe were, before the birth

* Yet those very events, the recital of which our author seems to despise, have not only influenced the destiny of empires, but even strongly marked the character and understanding of the times in which they happened.

of Lewis XIV. we shall now describe the great political and military events of his reign. The interior government of the kingdom, as being an object of more importance to the people, shall be treated of by itself. The private life of Lewis XIV. and the particular anecdotes of his court, and reign, shall hold a principal place in this account. There shall be other articles for the arts and sciences, and for the progress of the human mind in this age. Lastly, we shall speak of the church, which has been so long connected with the government, has sometimes disturbed its peace, and at others been its defence; and which, though instituted for the inculcating of morality, too frequently gives itself up to politics and the impulse of the human passions.



T H E

AGE of LEWIS XIV.

C H A P. CLXVI.

Of the STATES of EUROPE before
LEWIS XIV.

FOR a long time past the Christian part of Europe (Muscovy excepted) might be considered as a great republic divided into several states, some of which were monarchical, others mixt, some aristocratical, and others popular; but all corresponding with one another; all having the same basis of religion, though divided into several sects, and acknowledging the same principles of public and political equity, which were unknown to the other parts of the world. It is from these principles that the European nations do not make slaves of their prisoners; that they respect the persons of their enemies ambassadors; that they agree together concerning the pre-eminence, and some other rights belonging to certain princes; such as the emperor, kings, and other lesser potentates: and particularly in the prudent policy of preserving, as far as they are able, an equal

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ballance of power between themselves ; by continually carrying on negotiations even in the midst of war, and keeping ambassadors, or less honourable spies at each other's courts, to give notice to the rest, of the designs of any single one, to sound the alarm at once over all Europe, and to prevent the weaker side from being invaded by the stronger, who is always ready to attempt it.

After the death of Charles V. the ballance of power inclined too much on the side of the house of Austria. This powerful house was, in the year 1630, mistress of Spain, Portugal, and the riches of America ; the Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdoms of Naples, Bohemia, Hungary, and even Germany, (if we may so say) were become a part of its patrimony : and had all these states been united under one single head of this house, it is reasonable to believe, that he would, at length, have become master of all Europe.

OF GERMANY.

THE empire of Germany is the most powerful neighbour which France has ; it is nearly of the same extent ; there is not, perhaps, so much money in it, but it abounds more with sturdy men, inured to labour. The Germanic nation is governed, with a very little difference, as France was under the first kings of the Capetian race, who were chiefs of several great vassals, by whom they were frequently very ill obeyed, and of a great number of lesser ones. There are sixty free cities, called imperial ; about as many secular princes ; near forty eccle-

ecclesiastical ones, as well abbots as bishops, nine electors, amongst whom we may reckon four kings; and lastly, the emperor, who is head of all these potentates: these at present compose this great Germanic body, which, by the phlegmatic disposition of its members, is maintained in as much order and regularity * as there was formerly confusion in the French government.

Each member of the empire has his particular rights, privileges, and obligation; and the knowledge of such a number of laws, which are frequently disputed, makes, what is called in Germany, "The study of the public law," for which that nation is so famous.

The emperor himself should not in fact be much more powerful or rich than a doge of Venice. You know that Germany being divided into cities and principalities, nothing is left for the chief of such a number of states, but the pre-eminence, accompanied with the supreme honours, without either demesnes or money, and consequently without power. He does not possess a single village in virtue of his title of emperor. Nevertheless this dignity, often as vain as supreme, has become so powerful in the hands of the Austrians, that it has been frequently feared that they would convert this republic of princes into an absolute monarchy.

* Witness the present war, and the past. We apprehend our author might have compared Germany with more propriety, to the heptarchy of the Saxons, a confederacy of independent states, which choose a president or chief, investing him with a supreme authority to be exercised for the good of the community: but this authority is acquired by election, not enjoyed by hereditary right.

The christian part of Europe, especially Germany, was then, and still is divided into two parties or sects. The first is, that of the catholics, who are all more or less subject to the authority of the pope. The other, that of the enemies to the spiritual and temporal power of the pontiff, and the prelates of the church of Rome. These latter are called by the general name of protestants, though divided into Lutherans, Calvinists, and other sects, who all hate one another as much as they do the church of Rome.

In Germany, the states of Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, a part of Bohemia and Hungary, the houses of Brunswick and Wirtemberg followed the Lutheran religion, which is by them called the evangelical. All the free cities of the empire have likewise embraced this sect, as seemingly more agreeable to a people jealous of their liberty than the religion of the church of Rome.

The Calvinists, who are scattered amongst the Lutherans, form but an inconsiderable party. The Roman Catholics constitute the rest of the empire; and having at their head the house of Austria, they were without doubt the most powerful.

Not only Germany but all the christian states were still bleeding with the wounds of the many religious wars in which they had been engaged; a madness peculiar to christians, and unknown to idolaters, and which was the fatal consequence of that dogmatic turn, which had for so long a time been introduced among all ranks of people. Almost every point of controversy occasioned a civil war; and foreign

nations, (nay perhaps our own posterity) will one day be at a loss to comprehend how their ancestors could have thus mutually butchered each other, while they were preaching up the doctrine of patience.

I have already shewn how near Ferdinand II. was to changing the German aristocracy into an absolute monarchy, and how he was on the point of being dethroned by Gustavus Vasa. His son, Ferdinand III. who inherited his politics, and like him made war from his cabinet, swayed the imperial sceptre during the minority of Lewis XIV.

Germany was not then so flourishing as it has since become. Not only every kind of luxury was wholly unknown there, but even the conveniences of life were very scarce in the houses of the greatest noblemen, till the year 1686, when they were introduced by the French refugees, who retired thither and set up their manufactories. This fruitful and well peopled country was destitute both of trade and money: the gravity of manners, and slowness peculiar to the Germans, deprived them of those pleasures and agreeable arts which the more penetrating Italians had cultivated for many years, and which the French industry began now to carry to perfection. The Germans, though rich at home, were poor every where else; and this poverty, added to the difficulty of uniting in a short time, so many different people under one standard, made it impossible for them to carry the war into their neighbours dominions, or support it there for any time, nearly as at this day. Accordingly, we almost always find the French carrying on a war against the em-

pire within the empire. The difference of government and genius make the French more proper for attacking, and the Germans for acting on the defensive.

OF SPAIN.

THE Spanish nation, governed by the elder branch of the house of Austria, after the death of Charles V. had made itself more formidable to Europe than the Germanic empire. The kings of Spain were infinitely more absolute and rich than the emperors: and the mines of Mexico and Peru furnished them with treasures sufficient to purchase the liberties of Europe. You have already seen the project of universal monarchy, or rather universal superiority on the Christian continent, begun by Charles V. and carried on by Philip II.

The Spanish greatness under Philip II. became a vast body without substance, which had more reputation than real strength.

Philip IV. who inherited his father's weakness, lost Portugal by his neglect; Roussillon by the inferiority of his arms; and Catalonia by the abuse of his absolute authority. Such princes could not long continue successful in their wars against France. If our errors and divisions gave them some few advantages, they soon lost the fruits of them by their own want of capacity. Besides, they had a people to command whose privileges gave them a right to serve ill. The Castilians, for instance, had a privilege by which they were exempted from serving out of their own country. The Arragonians were continually opposing their liberties

ties to the orders of the king's council; and the Catalans, who looked upon their kings as their enemies, would not even suffer them to raise militia in their provinces.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Spain, by being united to the empire, threw a very formidable weight into the balance of Europe.

OF PORTUGAL.

AT this time Portugal was again made a kingdom. John duke of Braganza, who passed for a weak prince, had wrested this province from a king who was weaker than himself. The Portuguese, through necessity, cultivated trade, which the Spaniards through pride neglected, and had lately, (in the year 1641) entered into a league with the French and Dutch against Spain. France gained more by the revolution in Portugal than she could have done by the most signal victories. The French ministry, without having in the least contributed to this event, reaped without any trouble the greatest advantage that can be wished for over an enemy; that of seeing him attacked by an irreconcilable power.

Portugal, who thus threw off the Spanish yoke, extended its trade, and augmented its power, puts us in mind of Holland, which enjoyed the same advantages, though in a very different manner.

Of the UNITED PROVINCES.

THIS small state, composed of seven united provinces, a country abounding in excellent pasturage, but destitute of all kind of grain, unhealthy, and in a manner buried in the sea, was for about half a century almost the only example in the world, of what may be done by the love of liberty and unwearied labour. These poor people, few in number, and inferior in military discipline to the meanest of the Spanish militia, and of no account in the rest of Europe, made head against the whole collected force of their master and tyrant Philip II. eluded the designs of several princes who offered to assist them, in hopes of enslaving them, and founded a power which we have seen counterbalancing that of Spain itself. The desperation which tyranny inspires first armed these people; liberty raised their courage, and the princes of the house of Orange made them excellent soldiers. No sooner were they become conquerors of their masters, than they established a form of government which preserves as far as is possible, equality, the most natural right of mankind.

This state of so new a kind was from its first foundation intimately attached to France: they were united by interest, and had the same enemies. Henry the Great, and Lewis XIII. had been its allies and protectors.

OF ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, a far more powerful state, arrogated to itself the sovereignty of the seas, and pretended to preserve a ballance between the powers of Europe; but Charles I. who began his reign in 1625, was so far from being able to support the weight of this ballance, that he found the sceptre already falling through his hands: he had attempted to render his power independent of the laws of England, and to make a change in the religion of Scotland. He was too headstrong to be diverted from his projects, and too weak to carry them into execution. He was the good husband, the good master, the good father, and the honest man*; but an ill advised prince: he engaged in a civil war, which lost him his throne, and made him end his life on a scaffold, by an unparalleled revolution.

This civil war, which was begun in the minority of Lewis XIV. prevented England for some time from taking part in her neighbours concerns: she lost her credit in Europe, with

* We should be glad to know how he could be a good man that endeavoured to render himself absolute and independent of the laws of his country. Mr. de Voltaire would have done more justice to the character of Charles, had he said that monarch was too jealous of his prerogative, upon which he imagined the commons wanted to intrench; and did not sufficiently advert to the extent of the privileges of the people. That he should be mistaken in these particulars, is not at all surprising, when we conjecture that the bounds of prerogative and privilege were not at that period ascertained.

her quiet at home; her trade was obstructed, and other nations looked upon her as buried beneath her own ruins, till the time that she at once became more formidable than ever, under the rule of Cromwell, who had enslaved her with the gospel in one hand, the sword in the other, and the mask of religion on his face; and who in his administration concealed, under the qualities of a great king, all the crimes of an usurper.

OF ROME.

THE ballance which England had so long flattered itself with the hopes of keeping up by its superior power, Rome endeavoured to maintain by its politics. Italy was divided as it now is into several sovereignties; that which is possessed by the pope is sufficiently great to render him respectable as a prince, and too small to make him formidable. The nature of the government does not contribute to the peopling of his country, which also has very little trade or money. His spiritual authority, which is always mixed with something of the temporal, is slighted and abhorred by one half of Christendom: and though he is considered as a father by the other half, yet he has some children who resist his will at times with reason and success. It is the maxim of the French government to look upon him as a sacred but enterprising person, whose hands must sometimes be tied, though they kiss his feet. We still see in all the catholic countries the traces of those steps which the court of Rome has frequently made towards universal monarchy.

narchy. All the princes of the Romish religion, upon their acceſſion, ſend an embaffy to the pope, which is termed the embaffy of obedience. Every crowned head has a cardinal at his court, who takes the name of protector. The pope grants bulls for filling up all vacant biſhopricks, and expreſſes himſelf in theſe bulls as if he conferred theſe dignities by his own pure authority. All the Italian, Spaniſh, Flemiſh, and even ſome of the French biſhops, ſtile themſelves biſhops by the divine permiſſion, and that of the holy ſee. There is no kingdom in which he has not ſeveral benefices in his nomination; and he receives as a tribute the firſt years revenues of conſiſtorial benefices.

The religious orders, whoſe principals reſide at Rome, are again ſo many immediate ſubjects to the pontiff, ſcattered over all ſtates. Custom, which does every thing, and which occasions the world to be governed by abuſes as by laws, has not always permitted princes to put an entire ſtop to this danger, which in other reſpects is connected with things uſeful and ſacred. To ſwear allegiance to any other than the ſovereign is a crime of high treaſon in a layman; but in a convent it is a religious act. The difficulty of knowing how far we are to carry our obedience to this foreign ſovereign, the eaſe with which we ſuffer ourſelves to be ſeduced, the pleaſure there is in throwing off a natural yoke for a voluntary one, the ſpirit of diſcord and the unhappineſs of the times, have but too often prevailed on whole bodies of religious orders to ſerve the cauſe of Rome againſt their own country.

The

The enlightened spirit which has reigned in France for this century past, and which has communicated itself to people of all ranks, has proved the most effectual remedy against this abuse. The excellent books which have been written on this subject, have done real service both to kings and people; and one of the great changes which was wrought by this means in our manners, under the reign of Lewis XIV. is, that the religious of all kinds begin now to be persuaded that they should be subject to their king, before they are servants to the pope. The juridical power, which is the essential mark of sovereignty, still remains with the Roman pontiff; and even the French government, notwithstanding all the liberties of the Gallican church, allows a final appeal to the pope in all ecclesiastical causes.

If any one is desirous of obtaining a divorce, of marrying a near relation, or of being released from their vows, application is to be made to the court of Rome, and not to the bishop of the diocese; there all indulgences are rated, and the individuals of all states may from thence purchase dispensations at all prices.

These advantages, which are by many people looked upon as the consequences of the greatest abuse, and by others as the remains of the most sacred rights, are always artfully preserved; and modern Rome employs as much policy in keeping up its credit as the ancient republic did in conquering one half of the known world.

No court ever knew better how to act agreeable to men and times. The popes are almost always Italians, grown grey in public affairs,
and

and divested of those passions which make men blind to their interest; their council is composed of cardinals, who resemble them, and who are all animated with the same spirit. This council issues mandates, which reach as far as China, and the extremes of America, in which sense it may be said to take in the whole universe; and we may say of it as a stranger formerly said of the Roman senate: "I have beheld an assembly of kings." Most of our writers have with reason inveighed against the ambition of this court; but I do not find one who has done sufficient justice to its prudence, neither do I know if any other nation could have so long maintained itself in the possession of so many privileges continually contested; any other court might probably have lost them, either by its haughtiness, its effeminacy, its sloth, or its vivacity; but that of Rome, by an almost constant proper use of resolution and concession, has preserved all that was humanly possible for her to preserve. We have seen her submissive to Charles V. terrible to our king, Henry III. the friend and the foe by turns to Henry IV. acting cunningly with Lewis XIII. openly opposing Lewis XIV. at a time when he was to be feared; and frequently a private enemy to the emperors, of whom she was more distrustful than even of the Turkish sultan.

Some rights, many pretensions, politics, and patience, are all that Rome has now left of that ancient power which six centuries ago attempted to subject the empire and all Europe to the triple crown.

Naples is still an existing proof of that right which the popes formerly assumed with so much art and parade, of creating and bestowing kingdoms; but the king of Spain, who is the present possessor of that kingdom, has only left the court of Rome the dangerous honour of having an overpowerful vassal.

Of the rest of ITALY.

AS for the rest, the pope's dominions were situated in a peaceable country, which had never been disturbed but by a trifling war, of which I have already spoken, between the cardinals Barberini, nephews to Urban VIII. and the duke of Parma.

The other provinces of Italy were biassed by various interests. Venice had the Turks and the emperor to fear, and could hardly defend its dominions on the continent against the pretensions of Germany, and the invasion of the grand signor. She was no longer that city which was formerly the mistress of the trade of the whole world, and that one hundred and fifty years before had excited the jealousy of so many crowned heads. The wisdom of its administration continued the same as formerly; but its great trade being destroyed, deprived it of almost all its strength, and the city of Venice was by its situation incapable of being conquered; and by its weakness incapable of making conquests.

The state of Florence enjoyed tranquility and abundance under the government of the Medicis' family; and literature, arts, and politeness, which they had first introduced, still flourished there.

there. Tuscany was at that time in Italy what Athens had been in Greece.

Savoy, after having been rent by a civil war, and desolated by the French and Spanish armies, was at length wholly united in favour of France, and contributed to weaken the Austrian power in Italy.

The Swiss nation preserved, as at this day, its own liberty, without seeking to oppress its neighbours. They sold the service of their troops to nations richer than themselves: they were poor and ignorant of the sciences, and of all the arts which are begotten by luxury; but they were wise, and they were happy.

Of the NORTHERN KINGDOMS.

THE Northern nations of Europe, viz. Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Muscovy, were like the other powers, always distrustful of, and at war with each other. In Poland, both the manners and government were, as they now are, nearly the same with those of the ancient Goths and Franks. The crown was elective; the nobles had a share in the supreme authority; the people were slaves; the infantry was weak; and the cavalry was wholly composed of nobles; there were no fortified towns, and scarcely any trade. These people were attacked at one time by the Swedes, or the Muscovites, and at others by the Turks.

The Swedes, who were a freer nation by their constitution, which admits even the lowest class of the people into the assembly of the general estates, but at that time more subject to their kings than the Poles, were almost every where
vic-

victorious. Denmark, which had formerly been so formidable to Sweden, was no longer so to any power; and Muscovy was not yet emerged from barbarism.

Of the T U R K S.

THE Turks were not what they had been under their Selims, their Mahomets, and their Solymans. The seraglio, though corrupted by effeminacy, still retained its cruelty. The sultans were at the same time the most despotic of sovereigns, and the least secure of their throne and life. Osman and Ibrahim had lately been strangled, and Mustapha had been twice deposed. The Ottoman empire, tottering from these repeated shocks, was also attacked by the Persians; but when it had enjoyed a little respite from them, and that the revolutions of the seraglio were at an end, this empire became again formidable to Christendom, and spread its conquests from the mouth of the Boristhenes to the Adriatic sea. Muscovy, Hungary, Greece, and the Archipelago, fell alternately a prey to the Turkish arms; and from the year 1644, they had constantly carried on the war of Candia, which proved so fatal to the Christians.

Such then were the situation, strength, and interests of the principal European nations, about the time that Lewis XIII. of France departed this life.

The

The Situation of FRANCE.

FRANCE, who was in alliance with Sweden, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal, and had the favourable wishes of the other nations who remained inactive, was engaged in a war against the empire and Spain, which proved ruinous to both sides, and particularly fatal to the house of Austria. This war was like all those which have been carried on for so many centuries between christian princes, in which millions of men have been sacrificed, and whole provinces laid waste to obtain a few frontier towns, the possession of which is seldom worth the expence of conquering them.

Lewis XIII's generals had taken Roussillon; and the Catalans had given their province to France, as the protectress of that liberty which they defended against their kings; but all these successes had not prevented the enemy from making themselves masters of Corbie, in the year 1637, and advancing as far as Pontoise. Fear had driven one half of the inhabitants out of Paris; and cardinal de Richelieu, in the midst of his mighty projects for humbling the Austrian power, had been reduced to lay a tax upon the houses with great gates in the city of Paris; every one of which was obliged to furnish a footman armed, to drive the enemy from the gates of the metropolis.

The French there had done the Spaniards and Germans a great deal of mischief, and had suffered as much themselves.

The

The Manners of the AGE.

THE wars had produced several illustrious generals ; such as a Gustavus Adolphus, a Wallstein, a duke of Saxe Weimar, a Piccolomini, a John de Vert, the marechal of Guebriant, the princes of Orange, and the count of Harcourt : nor was this age less famous for ministers of state. Chancellor Oxenstiern*, the count duke Olivarez, and the cardinal duke de Richelieu, had drawn the attention of all Europe upon them, especially the latter. There never was an age which had not some famous statesmen and soldiers : politics and arms seem unhappily to be the two professions most natural to man, who must always be either negotiating or fighting. The most fortunate is accounted the greatest ; and the public frequently attributes to merit what is only the effect of an happy success.

War was then carried on differently from what it afterwards was in the time of Lewis XIV. There were not such numerous armies : no general since the siege of Metz by Charles V. had been at the head of fifty thousand men. They did not make use of so many cannon in the besieging and defending of places as at present. The art of fortification itself was then in its infancy. Spears and short guns were then in use, as well as the sword, which is now entirely laid aside. One of the old laws of na-

* Axel Oxenstiern was great chancellor of Sweden, and prime minister to Gustavus Adolphus, after whose death he conducted the affairs of the Swedes and their allies in Germany, under the name of Director-General.

tions was still in force, namely, that of declaring war by a herald. Lewis XIII. was the last who observed this custom: he sent an herald at arms to Brussels, to declare war against Spain, in the year 1635.

Nothing was more common at that time than to see armies commanded by priests: the cardinal Infant, the cardinals of Savoy, Richelieu, la Valette*, and Sourdis†, archbishop of Bourdeaux, had put on the cuirass, and waged war in person. A bishop of Mendes had been frequently intendant of the army. The popes sometimes threatned these military prelates with excommunication. Pope Urban VIII. being incensed against France, sent word to cardinal la Valette, that he would strip him of the purple, if he did not lay down the sword; but when the pontiff came afterwards to be reconciled to France, he loaded them with benedictions.

Ambassadors, who are equally the ministers of peace with churchmen, made no difficulty of serving in the armies of the allied powers, to whom they were sent. Charnacé, who was envoy from the court of France, to Holland, commanded a regiment there in 1637; and

* Louis de Nogaret, cardinal de la Valette, was third son to the duke d'Epemon. While archbishop of Tholouse, pope Paul V. raised him to the rank of a cardinal, in the year 1621. He was also commander of the order of the Holy Ghost, lieutenant general of the king's armies, and governor of Anjou. He owed all his promotions to the favour of cardinal de Richelieu, to whose interest he was entirely devoted.

† It was not Francis d'Escoubleau, cardinal de Sourdis, but his brother Henry, his coadjutor and afterwards successor in the archbishopric of Bourdeaux, who acted in a military capacity, as being commander of the king's orders.

sometimes afterwards, even the ambassador d'Estrade was a colonel in the Dutch service.

France had not in all above eighty thousand effective men on foot. Its marine, which had for some centuries fallen to decay, and had afterwards been a little restored by cardinal de Richelieu, was ruined under Mazarin. Lewis XIII. had not more than forty-five millions of real ordinary revenue; but money was then at twenty-six livres the mark, consequently these forty-five millions amounted to near eighty-five millions of the present currency, when the arbitrary value of the silver mark is carried to forty-nine livres and an half; an exorbitant numerical value, and which justice and the interest of the public forbid ever to be increased.

Trade, which is so universal at present, was then only in a very few hands: the police of the kingdom was entirely neglected, a certain sign of a bad administration. Cardinal de Richelieu, wholly taken up with his own greatness, which was linked with that of the state, had begun to render France formidable without doors, but had not been able to it make flourishing within. The roads were neither kept in repair nor properly guarded; they were infected by troops of robbers. The streets of Paris, which were narrow, badly paved, and covered with disagreeable filth, swarmed with thieves. It is proved by the registers of parliament, that the city watch was at that time reduced to forty-five men, badly payed, and who frequently did no duty at all.

Ever since the death of Francis I. France had been continually rent by civil wars, or disturbed by factions. The people never wore the yoke

in a voluntary or peaceable manner. The nobles were trained up from their youth in conspiracies ; it was the court-art, the same as that of pleasing the sovereign has since been.

This spirit of discord and faction spread itself from the court into the smallest towns, and took possession of all public societies in the kingdom ; every thing was disputed, because there was no general rule ; the very parishes in Paris used to come to blows with each other ; and processions have fought together about the honour of their banners. The canons of Notre Dame were frequently seen engaged with those of the Holy Chapel ; the parliament and the chamber of accounts battled for the upper hand in the church of Notre Dame, the very day that Lewis XIII. put his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary.

Almost all the public corporations of the kingdom were in arms, and almost every individual was inflamed with the fury of duelling. This Gothic barbarism, which was formerly authorized by kings themselves, and was become the distinguishing character of the nation, contributed as much as the foreign and domestic wars to depopulate the country. It is not saying too much to aver, that in the course of twenty years, of which ten had been troubled by war, there died more French gentlemen by the hands of Frenchmen than by those of the enemy.

We shall not here take any notice of the manner in which the arts and sciences were cultivated : this part of the history of our manners will be found in its proper place. We shall only remark, that the French nation was
plunged

plunged in ignorance, without excepting even those who look upon themselves as removed above the common people.

Astrologers were much consulted, and greatly confided in. All the memoirs of this age, to begin with the history of the president de Thou, are full of predictions: even the grave and rigid duke of Sully himself, very seriously relates those which were made to Henry IV. This credulity, which is the most infallible mark of ignorance, prevailed so much at that time, that care was taken to keep an astrologer concealed in queen Anne of Austria's chamber, while she was in labour of Lewis the XIV.

It is hardly credible, though we find it related by the abbot Vittorio Siri, a cotemporary writer of great authority, that Lewis XIII. had the surname of Just given him from his childhood, because he was born under the sign Libra, or the ballance.

The same weakness which first brought this absurd chimera of judicial astrology into vogue, occasioned a belief in fascinations and witchcrafts; it was even made a point of religion, and nothing was to be seen but priests driving out devils from those who were said to be possessed. The courts of justice, composed of magistrates who ought to have more understanding than the vulgar, were employed in trying witches and forcerers. The death of the famous curate of Loudoun, Urban Grandier, will ever be a stain upon the memory of cardinal de Richelieu. This man was condemned to the stake for a magician, by commissioners appointed by the council of state. We cannot without indignation reflect, that the minister and the judges should

should have been so weak as to believe in the devils of Loudun *, and so barbarous as to condemn an innocent man to the flames ; and it will be remembered with astonishment by the latest posterity, that the wife of the marechal d'Ancre was burnt in the Place de Grève for a witch.

There is still to be seen, in a copy of some registers of the Chatelet, a trial which was begun in the year 1601, on account of a horse, whom his master had with great pains taught to perform tricks, as we now see some every day at our fairs. They wanted to burn both master and horse.

We have already said enough to give an idea of the manners and spirit of the age which preceded that of Lewis XIV.

This want of understanding in all orders of the state, did not a little encourage, even among the best people, certain superstitious practices,

* The real crime for which Grandier suffered, was his being believed the author of a lampoon, intituled, *La Cour-donniere de Loudun*, in which the birth and character of cardinal Richelieu were severely satirised. Grandier being accused by the Capuchins, of exercising the black art upon some Ursuline nuns, supposed to be possessed at Loudun, he was brought to his trial, and found guilty on the evidence of the following devils, Ashtaroth, of the order of the seraphim, and chief of the possessing demons; Eafas, Celsus, Acaos, Cedon, and Asmodeus, of the order of the thrones; Alex, Zabulon, Nephtholim, Cham, Uriel, and Acbas, of the order of principalities; in other words, by the Ursulines, supposed to be possessed by these devils. He was condemned to be burned alive, and suffered with great courage and composure: when he was brought to the stake, a drone-fly happening to buz about his head, a monk who was present, cried aloud, that the devil was come in the shape of a drone to fetch away the soul of Grandier.

which were a disgrace to religion. The protestants, confounding the reasonable worship of the catholics with the abuses introduced into that worship, were more firmly fixed in their hatred to our church; to our popular superstitions, frequently intermingled with debaucheries, they opposed a brutal sternness and a ferocity of manners, the character of almost all reformers. Thus was France rent and debased by a party spirit, while that social disposition, for which the nation is now so deservedly famous and esteemed, was unknown amongst us. There were then no houses where men of merit might meet together to communicate their lights to each other, no academies, no theatres. In a word, our manners, laws, arts, society, religion, peace, and war, had no resemblance with what was afterwards seen in that age known by the name of THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.



CHAP. CLXVII.

MINORITY of LEWIS XIV.

The Victories of the FRENCH under the great CONDE, then Duke of ENGUIEN.

CARDINAL de Richelieu and Lewis XIII. were lately dead, the one admired and hated, the other already forgotten. They had left the French, who were at that time a restless people, in a fixed aversion to the very name of a ministry, and with very little respect
to

to the throne. Lewis XIII. had, by his will, settled a council of regency. This monarch, so ill obeyed when he was ^{Aug. 18,} living, flattered himself with meeting ¹⁶⁴³ with more observance after his death; but the first step taken by his widow, Anne of Austria, was to procure an arrêt of the parliament of Paris for setting aside her husband's will. This body, which had been so long in opposition to the court, and which under Lewis had with difficulty preserved its right of making remonstrances, now annulled its monarch's will with the same ease as it would have determined the cause of a private citizen. Anne of Austria applied to this assembly to have the regency unlimited, because that Mary of Medicis had made use of the same court after the death of Henry IV. and Mary of Medicis had set this example, because any other method would have been tedious and uncertain; because the parliament being surrounded by her guards, could not dispute her will; and that an arrêt issued by the parliament and the peers, seemed to confer an incontestable right*.

The custom which always confers the regency on the king's mother, appeared to the French at that time as fundamental a law as that by which women are excluded from the crown. The parliament of Paris having twice settled this point, that is to say, having by its own authority decreed the regency vested in

* Riencourt, in his history of Lewis XIV. says, that Lewis XIII's will was registered in parliament. What deceived this writer is, that Lewis XIII. had actually declared the queen regent, which was confirmed, but that part of his will by which he had limited her authority, was set aside.

the queen-mothers, seemed in fact to have conferred the regency; it considered itself, not without some shew of reason, as the guardian of our kings, and every counsellor thought he had a part in the sovereign authority. By the same arret, Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to the late king, had the vain title given him of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, under the queen-regent, who was absolute.

Anne of Austria was, upon her first assuming the reins of government, obliged to continue the war against her brother Philip IV. king of Spain, whom she affectionately loved. It is difficult to assign any positive reason for the French having undertaken this war; they claimed nothing from Spain, not even Navarre, which ought to have been the patrimony of the kings of France. They had continued at war ever since the year 1634, because cardinal de Richelieu would have it so, and it is to be supposed that he was desirous of it, in order to make himself necessary. He had engaged in a league against the emperor with the Swedes, and duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, one of those generals whom the Italians called Condottieri, who sold the service of their troops. He likewise attacked the Austrian Spanish branch, in those ten provinces which we now call by the general name of Flanders; and he had divided this country with the Dutch, at that time our allies, tho' it was not yet conquered.

The stress of the war lay on the side of Flanders: the Spanish troops marched from the frontiers of Hainault to the number of twenty-six thousand men, under the command of an old experienced general, whose name was Don
Fran-

Francisco de Mello, fell upon and ravaged the borders of Champagne, and attacked Rocroi, and thought soon to advance to the very gates of Paris, as they had done eight years before. The death of Lewis XIII. and the weakness of a minority raised their hopes, and when they saw only an inconsiderable army opposed to them, and that commanded by a young man of only twenty-one years of age, these hopes were changed into full security.

This unexperienced young man, whom they so much despised, was Lewis of Bourbon, then duke of Enguien, known since by the name of the great Condé. Most great generals have become so by degrees, but this prince was born a general. The art of war seemed in him a natural instinct. There was only him and the Swede Torstenson, who at twenty years of age were possessed of this talent which can dispense with experience.

The duke of Enguien had received, together with the news of Lewis XIII's death, orders not to risk a battle; the marechal de l'Hopital, who had been given him as a counsellor and guide, backed these timid orders by his own caution; but the prince heeded neither the court nor the marechal: he entrusted his design to no one but the field-marshal Gassion, a person worthy of being consulted by him. They together obliged the marechal to give his assent to the battle.

It is observed of the prince, that May. 19. having made all the necessary dispositions the evening before the battle, he slept so soundly that night, that his people were obliged to wake him to begin the engagement. The

same thing is related of Alexander. It is very natural for a young man, exhausted with the fatigue which must attend the preparations for such a day, to fall into a sound sleep; it is likewise as natural that a genius formed for war, and acting without confusion, should leave the body sufficiently calm to enjoy sleep. The prince gained the battle himself, by a quickness of sight, which at once made him discern the danger, and the means to prevent it; and by a cool activity, which carried him to every place at the time his presence was wanted. He himself, at the head of the cavalry, fell upon the Spanish infantry, till then deemed invincible, and which were as strong and compact as the ancient phalanx, so greatly esteemed, and could open much quicker than the phalanx could, in order to give room for the discharge of eighteen pieces of cannon, which were placed in its center. The prince surrounded this body, and charged it three times successively; at length he broke it, and no sooner was he assured of the victory, than he gave orders to put a stop to the slaughter. The Spanish officers threw themselves at his feet, for protection against the fury of the victorious soldiery. The duke of Enguien was as assiduous in securing them as he had been in conquering them.

The old count de Fuentes, who commanded this body of foot, was slain on the field of battle; which when Condé heard, he said, "He should have wished to have died like him, if he had not conquered."

The high esteem which the Spanish arms had till then been held in by all Europe was now lost, and those of the French began to gain

gain repute, who had not for a century past gained so great a victory; for the bloody day of Marignan *, which was rather disputed than gained by Francis I. over the Swifs, was as much owing to the black bands of Germany as to the French.

The battles of Pavia and of St. Quintin were again two fatal æras to the reputation of France. Henry IV. had the misfortune to gain great advantages only over his own nation. In the reign of Lewis XIII. the marshal de Guebriant had had some small successes, but they were always counterballanced by losses. Gustavus Adolphus was the only one at that time who fought those great battles which shake a state, and remain for ever in the memory of posterity.

This battle of Rocroi became the æra of the French glory, and of the great Condé's. This general knew how to conquer, and to make the most of conquest. The letters he wrote made the court resolve on the siege of Thionville, which cardinal Richelieu had not dared to hazard; and when his couriers returned, they found every thing ready for the expedition.

The prince of Condé marched thro' the enemy's country, eluded the vigilance of general Beck, and at length took Thionville; from thence he hastened and laid siege to Cirq, which he likewise reduced. He obliged the Germans to repass the Rhine, followed them over that river, and came upon the frontiers, where he repaired all the defeats and losses which the French had sustained after

Aug. 8.
1643.

* See Vol. IV. Chap. CI.

the death of the marshal de Guebriant. He found the town of Fribourg in the enemy's possession, and general Merci under its walls, with an army superior to his own. Condé had under him two marechals of France, Grammont and Turenne, the latter of whom had been made marechal about a month, in consideration of the good services he had done against the Spaniards in Piedmont, where he laid the foundation of that great reputation which he afterwards acquired. The prince with these two generals attacked Merci's camp, which was entrenched upon two eminences. The fight

Aug. 31, 1644. was renewed three times in three several days. It is said that the duke of Enguien threw his commander's staff into the enemy's trenches, and marched to retake it sword in hand, at the head of the regiment of Conti. There may sometimes be a necessity for such bold actions, in leading on troops to attacks of so dangerous a nature. This battle of Fribourg, rather bloody than decisive, was the second victory the prince had gained. Merci decamped four days afterwards; and the surrender of Philipsbourg and Mentz were at once the proofs and fruits of this victory.

The duke of Enguien then returned to Paris, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people, and demanded of the court the rewards due to his services; he left the command of his army to marechal Turenne; but April, 1645. this general, notwithstanding his great military skill, was defeated at Mariendal. Upon this the prince flies back to his army, resumes the command, and to the glory

glory of commanding the great Turenne, adds that of repairing his defeat. He attacks Merci in the plains of Nordlingen, and gains a complete victory. Aug. 3,
1645.

Marshal Grammont was taken; but general Glen, the second in command to Merci, was likewise made prisoner, and Merci himself was among the number of the slain. This general, who was esteemed one of the greatest captains of his age, was interred on the field of battle with this inscription on his tomb, *Sta, viator, heroem calcas*; Stop, traveller, thou treadest on a hero.

The name of the duke of Enguien now eclipsed all others. He afterwards laid Oct. 7th.
1646 siege to Dunkirk, in sight of the Spanish army, and was the first who added that place to the French territories.

These many successes and services, which were rather looked upon with a suspicious eye by the court, than properly rewarded, made him as much feared by the ministry as by his enemies. He was therefore recalled from his theatre of conquest and glory, and sent into Catalonia with a handful of bad troops, as badly paid; then he besieged the town of Lerida, but was obliged to quit the siege. He is accused by several writers of a foolish bravado, in having opened the trenches to the sound of musical instruments. They did not know that this was the custom in Spain.

It was not long however before the ticklish situation of affairs obliged the court to recall him back to Flanders. Archduke Leopold, the emperor's brother, was then besieging the town of Lens in Artois. Condé, as soon as he was re-

stored to those troops who had always conquered under his command, led them directly against the archduke Leopold. This was the third time he had given battle with the advantage of numbers against him. He addressed his soldiers in this short speech; "My Friends, remember Rocroi, Eribourg, and Nordlingen." This battle of Lens put the finishing stroke to his reputation.

Aug. 20th, 1648 He succoured in person marshal Grammont, who was giving way with the left wing, and took general Beck prisoner. The archduke with great difficulty saved himself, with the count of Fruensaldagna. The enemy's army, which was composed of the Imperialists and Spaniards, was totally routed. They lost upwards of an hundred stands of colours and thirty-eight pieces of cannon, which at that time was a considerable number; there were five thousand men taken prisoners, and three thousand slain; the rest deserted, and the archduke was left without an army.

While the prince of Condé * was thus numbering the years of his youth by victories, and that the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. likewise maintained the reputation of a son of Henry IV. and that of his country, by the taking of Gravelines, Courtray, July, 1644. and Mardyke; the viscount of Turenne reduced Landau, drove the Spaniards out of Triers, and restored the elector. Nov. 1644.

* His father died in 1646.

He gained the battles of Larlingen and Sommerhausen with the Swedes, and obliged the duke of Bavaria to fly November, out of his dominions, when almost 1647 eighty years old. The earl of Harcourt took Balaguier, and beat the Spaniards. 1645 They lost Portolongone in Italy, and their fleet was defeated on that coast by twenty ships of war, and as many galleys, which was the whole of the French navy, 1645 then newly restored by cardinal de Richelieu.

This was not all; the French army took Lorraine from duke Charles IV. a warlike, but fickle, imprudent, and unfortunate prince, who at the same time saw his dominions seized on by the French, and himself a prisoner to the Spaniards. The Austrian power was hard pressed by the allies of France in the North and South. The duke of Albuquerque, the Portuguese general, gained the battle of May, Bajadox * against the Spaniards. 1644 Torstenson defeated the imperialists near Tabor †, and gained a complete victory; and the prince of Orange, at 1645 the head of his Hollanders, penetrated as far as the province of Brabant in Flanders.

The Spanish king was beaten on all sides, and saw Roussillon and Catalonia in the hands of the French. Naples had lately revolted against him, and thrown itself 1647 into the hands of the duke de Guise, the last

* A fortified city of Spain, and a frontier place, towards Portugal.

† A small town of Bohemia, lying between Budweis and Prague.

prince of that branch of a house which had teemed with so many illustrious and dangerous men. This prince, who was deemed only a rash and bold adventurer, because he did not succeed, had however the glory of passing alone in a boat through the midst of the Spanish fleet, landing in Naples, and defending it without any other assistance than his own valour.

At the view of so many misfortunes pouring upon the house of Austria, and such a train of victories gained by the French, and seconded by the successes of their allies, one would imagine that Vienna and Madrid only waited the moment when they should be obliged to throw open their gates, and that the emperor and the king of Spain must shortly be almost destitute of dominions ; nevertheless, five years of excessive good fortune, hardly chequered by one disappointment, produced but very few real advantages, cost an infinite deal of blood, and brought about no change ; or if there was one to be apprehended, it was rather on the side of France, who was bordering upon its ruin, in the midst of so many apparent successes.

CHAP. CLXVIII.
THE CIVIL WAR.

QUEEN Anne of Austria, the absolute regent, had made cardinal Mazarine* master of the kingdom, and of herself. He had that power over her, which every artful man must have over a woman who is weak enough to be governed, and resolute enough to persist in the choice she has made of a favourite.

We read in some of the memoirs of those times, that the queen only made choice of Mazarine for her confidant, in consequence of the inability of Potier, bishop of Beauvais, whom she had at first chosen for her minister, and who is represented as a man of no capacity. This might possibly have been the case, and the queen might have made use of this man for some time as a cypher not to exasperate the nation by the choice of another cardinal, and he a foreigner; but we can never believe that Potier began his short administration by declaring to the Dutch,

* Julio Mazarine was born in the little town of Piscina, in the Abruzzo. He raised himself, by his political knowledge and address, to the notice of the court of Rome, by which he was employed in several negotiations. After the peace of Querasque, in 1631, he was sent as nuncio extraordinary to France, where he insinuated himself into the good graces of cardinal de Richelieu, and gained the friendship of Lewis XIII. in consequence of whose nomination he was created cardinal in the year 1641. After the death of Richelieu, Lewis appointed him counsellor of state, and one of his executors: thus he naturally succeeded to the management of affairs during the minority of Lewis XIV.

“ That

‘ That they must become catholics, if they were desirous of continuing in alliance with France;’ he might as well have made the same proposal to the Swedes. We find this piece of absurdity related by almost all our historians, because they have read it in the memoirs of some of the courtiers and those concerned in the civil war; there are however but too many passages in these memoirs, either falsified by prejudice, or related on the authority of popular rumour. Puerilities should never be quoted, and absurdities can never be believed.

Mazarine exercised his power with moderation at the beginning. It is necessary to have lived a long time with a minister to be able to draw his character, to determine what degree of courage or weakness there was in his mind, or how far he was prudent or knavish: therefore, without pretending to guess at what Mazarine really was, we shall only say what he did. In the first days of his greatness he affected as much humility as Richelieu had displayed haughtiness. Instead of taking a guard for his person, and appearing in public with royal pomp, he had at first a very modest retinue, and substituted an air of affability, and even of softness, in all things where his predecessor had shown an inflexible pride. The queen was desirous to make the court and the people fond of her person and authority, in which she succeeded. Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. and the prince of Condé supported her power, and had no emulation but that of serving the state.

It was found necessary to lay taxes, in order to maintain the war with Spain and the empire; some were accordingly imposed, which
were

were in fact very moderate, compared with those which we have since paid, and very insufficient to the wants of the crown.

The parliament, who had the power of authenticating the edicts for these ^{1647.} taxes, strongly opposed that of the tariff, and gained the confidence of the people, by continually thwarting the schemes of the ministry.

In short, the creation of twelve new places of masters of requests, and the with-holding of about eight thousand crowns from the salaries of the superior companies, caused an insurrection among all the people of the long robe, and with them of all Paris; and what at this time would hardly be of consequence enough to make a paragraph in a news paper, then stirred up a civil war

Broussel, counsellor-clerk of the upper chamber, a man of no capacity, and whose only merit was that of being the foremost to open all arguments against the court, having been put under arrest, the people expressed more concern than they had ever shewn at the death of a good king. The barricadoes of the league were now revived, the flame of sedition burst out in an instant, and raged so fiercely as hardly to be quenched, being industriously fed by the coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal de Retz: this was the first bishop who had ever excited a civil war without a religious pretext. This extraordinary man has given us his own portrait in his memoirs, which are wrote with an air of greatness, an impetuosity of genius, and an inequality, which form a perfect image of his conduct. He was a man, who, in the midst of the most debauched course of life, and still
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languishing with the consequences it produces, had the art to harangue the people with success, and make himself idolized by them : he breathed nothing but faction and conspiracy. At the age of twenty-three he had been at the head of a conspiracy, which was hatched against the life of cardinal de Richelieu ; he was the contriver of the barricadoes ; he always urged the parliament on to cabals, and the people to seditions. What is most extraordinary is, that the parliament, wholly guided by him, set up their standard against the court, even before they had the countenance or assistance of any prince.

This assembly had for a long time been looked upon in a different light by the court and the people. According to the declaration of all the ministers of state, and of the court itself, the parliament of Paris was a court of justice set apart for trying causes between the subjects : this prerogative it held purely from the will of our kings, and had no other pre-eminence over the other parliaments of the kingdom than that of seniority. It was a court of peers only because the court generally resided at Paris : it had no greater right to make remonstrances than the other bodies in the state, and this right was a matter of pure indulgence. It had succeeded those parliaments which heretofore represented the French nation, but it retained nothing more of those ancient assemblies than the bare name ; an incontestable proof of which is, that the general estates were actually substituted in the place of the national assemblies ; and the parliament of Paris no more resembled the ancient parliaments held by our
first

first kings, than a consul of Smyrna or Aleppo resembles a Roman consul.

This single mistake in the name served as a pretext to the ambitious pretensions of a body of men of the long robe, who all of them, by having purchased their seats, looked upon themselves as intitled to fill the places of the conquerors of the Gauls, and the lords of crown fiefs. This body has at all times abused the power which a chief tribunal, always existing in a capital, necessarily arrogates to itself. It had the boldness to issue an arret against Charles VII. and to banish him from his kingdom. It began a criminal process against Henry III. It always, to the utmost of its power, opposed its sovereigns; and in this minority of Lewis XIV. under the most mild of governments, and the most indulgent of queens, it attempted to raise a civil war against its prince, after the example of the English parliament, which at that time kept its king a prisoner, and condemned him to lose his head. Such was the manner of speaking, and the thoughts of the cabinet !

But the citizens of Paris, and all those connected with the long robe, looked upon the parliament of Paris as an august body, that dispensed justice with a laudable integrity ; that had the good of the state only at heart, which it cherished at the hazard of its own fortune ; that confined its ambition to the glory of curbing the aspiring designs of favourites ; that preserved an equal conduct between the prince and the people ; and the people without enquiring into the origin of its rights or authority, supposed it possessed of the most sacred privileges and indisputable authority ; and when they saw it maintaining

taining the public cause against ministers whom they hated, gave it the title of, "The father of the state;" and placed a very small difference between the right by which kings hold their crowns, and that which gives the parliament a power to lay a restriction upon the wills of kings.

It was impossible then to hit upon a medium between these two very opposite extremes, for in short there was no other fixed law but that of time and circumstances. Under a vigorous administration the parliament was nothing; under a weak king it was all-powerful; and that is very applicable that was said by Mr. de Guimené, when this body, in the reign of Lewis XIII. complained of the deputies of the noblesse for having taken precedency of it, "Gentlemen, you will have ample revenge in the minority."

We shall not repeat in this place all that has been written concerning these troubles, nor copy whole volumes to recall to observation the numerous circumstances which were then thought so important and dear, and that are now almost buried in oblivion; it is our business to speak of what characterises the spirit of the nation, and not dwell so much upon what relates to the civil wars in general, as to what particularly distinguishes that of the Fronde, as it was called.

Two powers, which were instituted wholly for the maintenance of peace and harmony amongst mankind, namely, an archbishop and a parliament, having begun these troubles, the people looked upon themselves as justified in the greatest extravagancies. The queen could no longer appear abroad without being insulted
in

in the grossest manner ; she was called by no other name than that of Dame Anne, or if any other title was added, it was generally an injurious one. The populace reproached her in the most virulent terms with her fondness for Mazarine ; and, what was yet more insufferable, her ears were filled in all places where she went with ballads and lampoons, the monuments of low ribaldry and malice, which seemed calculated to convey a lasting suspicion of her virtue.

She was now obliged to fly from Paris with her children, her minister, Jan. 6.
the duke of Orleans, and even the 1649.
great Condé himself, and to retire to St. Germain, and reduced to pawn the crown-jewels for subsistence ; the king himself was frequently in want of necessaries, the pages of his bed-chamber were dismissed, because they could no longer be maintained. At that time even Lewis XIV.'s aunt, the daughter of Henry the Great, and consort to the king of England, who had taken refuge in Paris, after having been expelled her own kingdom, was then reduced to the utmost extremities of poverty ; and her daughter, who was afterwards married to the brother of Lewis XIV. lay in bed for want of cloaths to keep her warm, while the people of Paris, blinded with their mad rage, paid not the least attention to the sufferings of so many royal personages.

The queen, with tears in her eyes, besought the great Condé to protect the young king. The conqueror of Rocroi, Fribourg, Lens, and Nordlingen, could not belie those great services. He found himself agreeably flattered with the honour of defending a court which had

had been ungrateful to his merits, against rebels who sought his assistance. The parliament then had the great Condé to encounter, and yet dared to carry on the war.

The prince of Conti, brother to the great Condé, who was as jealous of his elder brother as he was incapable of equalling him, the dukes of Longueville, Bouillon, and Beaufort, all animated with the same restless spirit as the coadjutor, all fond of novelties, full of the hopes of aggrandising themselves on the ruins of the state, and of making the blind motions of the parliament subservient to their own private interests, went in a body and offered their services to that prelate. The high chamber then proceeded to appoint generals for an army which was not yet raised. Every one taxed himself to raise troops. There were twenty counsellors possessed of new posts, which had been created by cardinal de Richelieu; their brethren, by a meanness of spirit of which every society is susceptible, seemed to wreak their vengeance against the memory of cardinal Richelieu upon them. They gave them a thousand mortifications, would hardly look upon them as members of the parliament, and obliged each of them to pay fifteen thousand livres towards the expence of the war, and to purchase the forbearance of those of their own body.

The high chancellor, the courts of inquests and requests, the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, who had so loudly inveighed against a trifling and necessary tax, which did not exceed an hundred thousand crowns, now furnished a sum amounting nearly to ten millions of our present money, for the subversion of their

their country. Twelve thousand men were raised by an arret of parliament; every house with a great gate furnished a man and an horse, from whence this body of horse got the name of "The Great-gate Cavalry." The coadjutor had a regiment of his own, which was called the Regiment of Corinth, because he was titular archbishop of Corinth.

Had it not been for the names of the king of France, the great Condé, and the capital of the kingdom, this war of the Fronde would have been as ridiculous as that of the Barberini; no one knew for what he was in arms. The prince of Condé besieged five hundred thousand citizens with eight thousand soldiers. The Parisians came out into the field dressed in ribbons and plumes of feathers, and their evolutions were the sport of the military people; they took to their heels at the sight of two hundred men of the king's army. All this was made a subject of raillery; the regiment of Corinth having been beaten by a small party of the king's troops, this little repulse was called "The first of the Corinthians."

The twenty counsellors who had furnished fifteen thousand livres a piece, had no other distinction than that of being called the Twenty Fifteens.

The duke of Beaufort, who was the idol of the people, and the instrument made use of in stirring them up to sedition, though a popular prince, had but a narrow understanding, and was a public object of raillery both with the court and those of his own party. He was never mentioned but by the name of the King of the Mob. The Parisian troops, after rallying
out

out of the city, and always coming back beaten, were received with peals of laughter. They repaired the repulses they met with by sonnets and epigrams; the taverns and brothels were the tents where they held their councils of war, in the midst of singing, laughing, and the most dissolute pleasures. The general licentiousness was carried to such an height, that one night some of the principal officers of the malcontents having met the holy sacrament, which was carrying through the streets to a sick person whom they suspected of being a Mazarinian, they drove the priest back again with the flat of their swords.

In short, the coadjutor coming to take his seat in parliament as archbishop of Paris, the handle of a poinard was seen sticking out of his pocket; upon which some one cried out "Behold our archbishop's breviary *."

In the midst of all these troubles, the nobility assembled in a body at the convent of the Augustine friars, appointed syndics, and held public sessions. It might have been supposed this was to new-model the government, and convoke the general estates, but it was only to settle a claim to the tabouret †, which the queen had granted to madam de Pons. Perhaps there never was a stronger proof of that levity of mind of which the French were then accused.

The civil discords under which England groaned at the very same time, may serve to shew the characters of the two nations. There

* A Romish prayer-book.

† The tabouret is a stool appointed for ladies of the first distinction at the French court to sit upon, in presence of the queen, at her levees.

was a gloomy desperation and a sort of rational rage in the civil wars of the English. Every thing was decided by the sword ; scaffolds were erected for the vanquished ; and their king, who was taken prisoner in a battle, was brought as a culprit before a court of justice, examined concerning the abuse he was said to have made of his power, condemned to lose his head, and executed in the sight of all his subjects with as much regularity and with the same forms of justice, as if it had been a private man condemned for a crime ; while, during the course of these dreadful troubles, the city of London was not even for a moment affected with the calamities incident to a civil war.

The French, on the contrary, ran headlong into seditions through caprice, and laughing all the time. Women were at the head of factions, and love made and broke cabals. The dutchess of Longueville prevailed on Turenne, lately made a marshal of 1649 France, to persuade the army which he commanded for the king to revolt. Turenne failed of success, and quitted like a fugitive the army of which he was general, to please a woman who made a jest of his passion. From general to the king of France, he descended to be the lieutenant of Don Estevan de Gamara, with whom he was defeated at Retel by the king's troops. Every one knows this billet of the marshal d'Hoquincourt to the dutchess of Montbazou : " Peronne belongs to the fairest of the fair ;" and the following verses, which the duke of Rochefoucault wrote on the dutchess of Longueville, when he received a wound by a musket, at the battle of St. Anthony, by which he was for some time deprived of sight ;

*Pour meriter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux
yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, & l'aurais faite
aux Dieux.*

The war ended, and was renewed again at several different times; and there was not a person who had not frequently changed sides. The prince of Condé, having brought the court back in triumph to Paris, indulged himself in the satisfaction of despising those whom he had defended; and thinking the rewards bestowed on him unequal to his reputation, and the services he had done, he was the first to turn Mazarine into ridicule, to brave the queen, and insult a government which he disdained. He is said to have wrote in this stile to the cardinal, To the most illustrious scoundrel; and that, taking his leave of him one day, he said, Farewell, Mars. He encouraged the marquis of Jarfai to make a declaration of love to the queen, and pretended to be angry that she was affronted with it. He joined with his brother the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville, who quitted the party of the malcontents. The party formed by the duke of Beaufort at the beginning of the regency had been nicknamed the Self-sufficients; this of the prince of Condé's was called the faction of the Petits-Maitres, because they wanted to be masters of the state. There are no other traces left of all these terms, except the name of Petit-Maitre, which is now a-days applied to young men of agreeable persons, but badly educated, and that of Frondeurs, or Grumblers, which is given to those who censure the government.

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The coadjutor, who had declared himself an implacable enemy to the administration, was privately reconciled to the court, in order to obtain a cardinal's hat, and sacrificed the prince of Condé to the minister's resentment. In a word, this prince, who had defended the state against its enemies, and the court against the rebels; Condé, at the summit of his glory, and who always acted more like the hero than the man of prudence, saw himself arrested, together with the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville. He might have governed the state, if he would only have endeavoured to please; but he was contented with being admired. The people of Paris, who had made barricadoes for a counsellor-clerk, hardly a degree removed from a fool, made public rejoicings when the hero and defender of France was hurried away to the dungeon of Vincennes.

A year afterwards, the very men, who had sold the great Condé and the other princes, to the dastardly revenge of Mazarin, obliged the queen to set open the gates of their prisons, and drive her prime minister out of the kingdom. Condé now returned amidst the acclamations of that very people who had shewn such hatred to him, and by his presence occasioned new cabals and dissensions.

The kingdom remained for some years longer in this tumultuous situation. The government, always the dupe to weak and uncertain councils, seemed now on the point of ruin; but dissension, which always prevailed among the rebels, saved the court. The coadjutor, who was sometimes a friend, and at others an enemy to the prince of Condé, stirred up a

part of the parliament and people 'gainst him, and boldly undertook at the same time to serve the queen by opposing this prince, and to insult her by obliging her to banish cardinal Mazarin, who retired to Cologne. The queen, by a contradiction too common to weak administrations, was obliged at once to accept of his services, to put up with his insults, and to nominate to the purple this very man, who, when coadjutor, had been the author of the barricadoes, and had obliged the royal family to quit their capital and besiege it.



CHAP. CLXIX.

Continuation of the CIVIL WAR, till the End
of the REBELLION in 1654.

AT length Condé determined upon a war, which he ought to have begun in the time of the rebellion, if he was desirous of being master of the state, or never to have undertaken, if he meant to live as a subject. He quits Paris, arms the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, and Anjou, and applies for succours against his own country to those Spaniards, of whom he had so lately been the most dreadful scourge.

Nothing can better shew the madness of these times, and the confused manner of proceeding, than what then happened to this prince. A courier was sent to him from Paris, with proposals for engaging him to return and lay down his arms. The courier by a mistake, instead of going to Angerville where the prince then was,

was, went to Augerville. The letter came too late: Condé declared, that if he had received it sooner, he would have accepted the proposals for peace; but since he was now at such a distance from Paris, it was not worth while to go back. Thus, by the mistake of a courier, and the mere capriciousness of this prince, France was once more plunged in a civil war.

And now cardinal Mazarin, who while an exile at the farther end of Cologne, had still continued to govern the court, returned back to France rather like a sovereign who returns to take possession of his dominions, than like a minister coming to resume his post; Dec. 1651 he was escorted by a small army of seven thousand men, raised wholly at his own expence; that is to say, with the government's money, which he had appropriated to his own use.

The king, in a declaration at this time, is made to say, that the cardinal actually raised those troops with his own money; which at once overturns the opinion of those writers who say that when he first left the kingdom he was very poor. He gave the command of his small army to the marshal d'Hoquincourt; all the officers wore green sashes, which was the colour of the cardinal's livery. Each party at that time had its particular sash. The king's was white, and the prince of Condé's yellow: it was surprising that cardinal Mazarin, who had all along affected so much humility and modesty, should have had the arrogance to make a whole army wear his livery, as if he had been of a different party from the king his master; but he could not resist this emotion of vanity. The

queen approved of it, and the king, who was then come of age, with his brother, went to meet him.

On the first news of his return, Gaston, duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. who had insisted upon his being banished, began to raise troops in Paris without well knowing how he was to employ them. The parliament renewed its arrets, proscribed Mazarin, and set a price upon his head. They were obliged to consult the registers for the price paid for the head of an enemy to the state, and they found that in the reign of Charles IX. the sum of fifty thousand crowns had been promised by arret to any person who should produce admiral Coligny alive or dead. It was therefore very seriously determined to act according to form, by setting the same price on the assassination of a cardinal and prime minister. No one however was tempted to gain the fifty thousand crowns offered by the proscription, which, after all, would never have been paid. In any other nation, or at any other time, such an arret would have met with persons to put it in execution; but now it served only to afford new subject of raillery. Blot and Marigni, two witty writers, who mingled gaiety with these tumults and disorders, caused a paper to be fixed up in the public places of Paris, offering a reward of one hundred and fifty thousand livres divided into shares; so much to the person who should cut off the cardinal's nose, so much for an ear, so much for an eye, and so much for the person who would make him an eunuch. This raillery was the only effect produced by this proscription. The cardinal, on his side, made no use either of

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poison

poison or assassination against his enemies ; and notwithstanding the rancour and madness of so many factions, and their hatred, no very great crimes were committed on any side. The heads of parties were not inclined to cruelty, nor were the people very furious, for it was not a religious war.

The whimsical spirit which prevailed at that time, had taken such thorough possession of the body of the parliament of Paris, that having solemnly ordered an assassination which was laughed at, they issued an arret, by which a certain number of counsellors were ordered to repair to the frontiers, and take depositions against the army of cardinal Mazarin, that is to say, the king's army.

Two of these counsellors had the imprudence to take some peasants with them, and break down the bridges over which the cardinal was to pass : they were taken prisoners in the attempt by a body of the king's troops, but were released again, without any farther punishment than that of being laughed at by all parties.

At the very time that this body was running into these extremes against the king's minister, it declared the prince of Condé guilty of high treason, who had taken up arms solely to oppose this minister ; and by a strange reverse of judgment, which nothing but their former actions could render credible, they ordered the fresh troops which had been raised by Gaston, duke of Orleans, to march against Mazarin, and at the same time prohibited any sums to be taken out of the public funds to pay them.

Nothing else could be expected from a body of magistrates, who, thrown quite out of its proper sphere, ignorant of its own rights and real power, and as little acquainted with state affairs and war, meeting in a tumultuous manner, and passing decrees in hurry and confusion, took measures which it had not thought of the day before, and which it was afterwards astonished at itself.

The parliament of Bourdeaux, which was at that time in the prince of Condé's interest, observed a more uniform conduct, because, being at a greater distance from the court, it was not so much agitated by opposite factions.

But objects of greater importance now engrossed the attention of all France.

Condé, in league with the Spaniards, appeared in the field against the king; and Turenne, having deserted those Spaniards with whom he had been defeated at Rerel, had just made his peace with the court, and commanded the king's army. The finances were already too much drained to allow either of the two parties to keep great armies on foot; but small ones were sufficient to decide the fate of the kingdom. There are times when an army of one hundred thousand men is barely sufficient to take two towns; and there are others in which eight thousand men may subvert or establish a throne.

Lewis XIV. who was brought up in adversity, wandered with his mother, his brother, and cardinal Mazarin, from province to province, with not near so many troops to attend his person, as he afterwards had in time of peace for his ordinary guard; while an army of five or six thousand men, part sent from Spain, and

and part raised by the prince of Condé, pursued him to the very heart of his kingdom.

The prince of Condé, in the mean time, made quick marches from Bourdeaux to Montauban, taking towns and increasing his numbers in every place.

All the hopes of the court were centered in marshal Turenne. The king's army was at Guienne, on the Loire, and the prince of Condé's a few leagues distant, under the command of the dukes of Nemours and Beaufort. The misunderstanding between these two generals was near proving fatal to the prince's party. The duke of Beaufort was unfit for the least command. The duke of Nemours past for a brave and amiable, rather than a skilful general. The army was ruined by them both together. The men, who knew that the great Condé was an hundred leagues distant from them, looked upon themselves as lost; when, in the middle of the night, a courier presented himself to the main guard, in the forest of Orleans: the centinels presently discovered this courier to be the prince himself, who had come post from Agen, through a thousand adventures, and always in disguise, to put himself at the head of his army.

His presence did a great deal, and this unforeseen arrival still more: he knew that men are elated with whatever is sudden and unexpected; he therefore took immediate advantage of the confidence and boldness with which his presence had inspired his troops. It was this prince's distinguishing talent in war to form the boldest resolutions in an instant, and to execute them with equal prudence and promptitude.

April The royal army was divided into
1652 two corps; Condé fell upon that which
lay at Blenau, under the command of
marshal d'Hocquincourt, which was broke al-
most as soon as attacked. Turenne could not
receive advice of this. Cardinal Mazarin,
struck with a panic, flew to Gien in the midst
of the night, to awaken the king and acquaint
him with this news. His little court was struck
with consternation: it was proposed to save the
king by flight, and convey him privately to
Bourges. The victorious Condé advanced
towards Gien, and the fear and desolation
became universal. Turenne however quieted
the apprehensions of the people by his steady-
ness, and saved the court by his dexterity.
With the few troops he had left, he made such
dexterous movements, and so well improved
his ground and time, that he prevented Condé
from prosecuting the advantage he had gained.
It was difficult at that time to determine which
of these two generals had acquired the most
honour; Condé by the victory he had gained,
or Turenne by having snatched the fruits of
his victory from him. It is certain that in this
battle of Blenau, which for a long time con-
tinued to be famous in France, there were not
above four hundred men killed: nevertheless,
the prince of Condé was on the point of making
himself master of the whole royal family, and of
getting his enemy, the cardinal, into his hands.
There could not well be a smaller battle, greater
concerns depending, or a more pressing danger.

Condé, who did not flatter himself with the
notion of surprising Turenne as he had done
Hocquincourt, made his army march to Paris,
and

and hastened to enter that city, and enjoy the glory he had acquired, in the favourable dispositions of a blinded people. The admiration that this last action, which was exaggerated in all its circumstances, had raised in all ranks of people, the general hatred to Mazarin, and the name and presence of the great Condé, seemed at first to make him absolute master of the capital: but in fact the minds of the people in general were divided, and each party was split into different factions, as is the case in all civil troubles. The coadjutor, now become cardinal de Retz, and who had in appearance been reconciled to a court that feared him, and whom he equally distrusted, was no longer master of the people, nor acted the principal part in these transactions. He governed the duke of Orleans, and opposed Condé. The parliament fluctuated between the court, the duke of Orleans, and the prince; but all sides joined in crying out against Mazarin: every one in private took care of his own concerns. The people were like a stormy ocean, whose waves were driven at hazard by many contrary winds. The shrine of St. Genevieve was carried in procession through Paris to obtain the expulsion of the cardinal minister; and the populace did not in the least doubt that the saint would perform this miracle in the same manner as she grants rain.

Nothing was to be seen but negotiations between the heads of parties, deputations from the parliament, meetings of the chambers, seditions among the people, and soldiers all over the country. Guards were mounted even at the gates of convents. The prince had called

in the Spaniards to his assistance: Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, who had been driven out of his dominions, and who had nothing left but an army of eight thousand men, which he sold every year to the Spanish king, advanced with this army towards Paris: but cardinal Mazarin offering him more money to return back, than he was to have from the prince of Condé for advancing, the duke soon withdrew out of France, after having laid the countries waste in his march, and carried off a handsome sum of money from both sides.

Condé then remained in Paris, where his power was every day growing weaker, and his army dwindling away, while Turenne conducted the king and his court towards the capital. The king, who was then fifteen years old, beheld from the heights of Charonne, the battle of St. Anthony, in which these two generals, with an handful of troops, performed such great things, as considerably increased the reputation of both, which already seemed incapable of addition.

The prince of Condé, with a few noblemen of his party, and a small number of soldiers, sustained and repelled the efforts of the king's army. The king himself, attended by cardinal Mazarin, beheld this fight from a neighbouring eminence. The duke of Orleans, uncertain which side to take, kept within his palace of Luxembourg, and cardinal de Retz remained in his archbishopric. The parliament waited the issue of the battle to enact new decrees. The people, who at that time were equally afraid of the king's troops and the prince's, had
shut

shut the city gates, and would not suffer any one to come in or go out, while the most noble blood of the kingdom was streaming in the suburbs. There it was that the duke of Rochefoucault, who was so famous for his courage and wit, received a blow over his eyes, which deprived him of his sight for some time. Nothing was to be seen but young noblemen killed or wounded, carrying to St. Anthony's gate, which was kept shut.

July
1652

At length mademoiselle, the duke of Orleans' daughter, taking Condé's part, whom her father had not dared to assist, ordered the gates to be opened for the wounded, and had the boldness to fire the cannon of the Bastille upon the king's troops. The royal army retired. Condé gained only glory; but mademoiselle ruined herself for ever with the king her cousin by this imprudent violence; and cardinal Mazarin, who knew the great desire she had to espouse a crowned head, observed upon this occasion that, "Those cannon had killed her husband."

Most of our historians amuse their readers only with accounts of the battles fought, and the prodigies of valour and politics displayed on these occasions; but whoever is acquainted with the shameful expedients which were put in practice, the wretchedness which was brought upon the people, and the meanness to which all sides were reduced, will look upon the glory of the heroes of these times with more pity than admiration; as we may judge from what we find related by Gourville, a man who was devoted to the prince of Condé. This writer acknowledges, that he himself, in order to procure money for the prince on a pressing occa-

sion, was obliged to rob a receiver's office; and that he went one day and seized a director of the posts in his own house, and obliged him to purchase his liberty with a sum of money; he relates all these outrages as common occurrences at that time.

After the bloody and indecisive battle of St. Anthony, the king could neither enter Paris, nor could the prince of Condé think of remaining there much longer. A commotion of the populace, and the deaths of several citizens, of which he was thought to be the author, had made him hateful in the eyes of the people. Nevertheless, he had still a party in the parliament. This body, who had then little to apprehend from the resentment of a wandering court, driven, as it were, from their capital, being pressed by the duke of Orleans and the prince's cabals, issued an arret declaring the former lieutenant-general of the kingdom, though the king was then of age. This was the same title which had been conferred on the duke of Mayenne in the time of the league. The prince of Condé was appointed generalissimo of the forces. The court, incensed at these proceedings, ordered the parliament to remove itself to Pontoise, which some few of the counsellors did; so that there were now two parliaments, who disputed each others authority, enacted contradictory decrees, and would by this means have fallen into universal contempt, had they not always agreed in demanding the cardinal's expulsion: so much was an hatred to that minister looked upon at that time as the essential duty of a Frenchman.

At that time all parties were alike weak, and the court was as much so as the rest. They all wanted men and money. Factions were daily encreasing: the battles which had been fought on both sides had produced only losses and vexations. The court found itself obliged once more to give up Mazarin, whom every one accused of being the cause of these troubles, while he was in fact only the pretence. Accordingly he quitted the kingdom a second time; and, as an additional disgrace, the king was obliged to issue a public declaration, by which he banished his minister while he commended his services and lamented his exile.

Charles I. of England had lately lost his head upon a scaffold, for having, at the beginning of his troubles, sacrificed the life of his friend and counsellor, the earl of Strafford, to his parliament's resentment. On the other hand, Lewis XIV. became the peaceable master of his kingdom, by agreeing to the banishment of Mazarin. Thus the same weakness had very different successes. The king of England, by giving up his favourite, emboldened a people who delighted in war, and had a hatred to all kings: and Lewis XIV. (or rather the queen-mother) by banishing the cardinal, took away all pretence for a revolt from a people who were grown weary of war, and had an affection for the royal character.

No sooner was the cardinal departed on his way to Bouillon, the place fixed for his new retreat, than the citizens of Paris, of their own accord, sent deputies to the king to beseech him to return to his capital, which he accordingly did; and every thing appeared so peaceable, that
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it would have been difficult to suppose that a few days before all had been in confusion. Gaston of Orleans, ever unfortunate in his undertakings for want of spirit to carry them through, was banished to Blois, where he passed the rest of his days in repentance; and he was the second of the great Henry's sons who died without glory. Cardinal de Retz, who was perhaps as imprudent as he was bold and aspiring, was arrested in the Louvre, and after being carried from prison to prison, he for a long time led a wandering life, which at length ended in a retirement, where he acquired virtues which his high spirit had made him a stranger to, amidst the tumults of his fortune.

Some counsellors of the parliament, who had most abused their power, payed the forfeit of their faults by banishment; the rest were restricted within the proper limits of the magisterial function; and some were encouraged to do their duty by a yearly gratification of five hundred crowns, which was payed them privately by Fouquet, procuror-general, and comptroller of the finances.

In the mean time the prince of Condé, abandoned in France by almost all his partizans, and but weakly seconded by the Spaniards, still carried on an unsuccessful war on the frontiers of Champagne. There were still some few factions subsisting in Bourdeaux, but they were soon quelled.

The calm which the kingdom now enjoyed was owing to the banishment of cardinal Mazarin. Yet scarcely was he expelled by the general cry of the French nation, and by the royal declaration, than he was recalled by the king,

king, and, to his infinite surprize, entered Paris once more in full power, and without the least disturbance. The king received him as a father, and the people as a master. A public entertainment was made for him at the town-house, amidst the acclamations of the citizens: he distributed money among the populace on this occasion; but amidst all the satisfaction he received in this happy change, he is said to have shewn a contempt for our levity and inconstancy. The parliament, who had before set a price upon his head as a public robber, now sent deputies to compliment him; and this very parliament, a short time afterwards, passed sentence of death on the prince of Condé for contumacy; a change common in such times, and which was the more base, as by this decree they condemned the very man in whose crimes they had been so long partakers.

The cardinal likewise, who urged this condemnation of the great Condé, was soon afterwards seen to give one of his nieces in marriage to the prince of Conti, Condé's brother, a proof that this minister's power would soon become boundless.

CHAP. CLXX.

Condition of FRANCE, till the Death of
Cardinal MAZARIN, 1661.

WHILE the state was thus torn in pieces within, it had likewise been attacked and weakened from without. All the fruits of the victories of Rocroi, Lens, and Nordlingen, were lost, the important fortress of Dunkirk was retaken by the Spaniards, who had likewise driven the French out of Barcelona, and retaken Casal in Italy. Yet, notwithstanding the tumults of the civil broils, and the weight of a foreign war, Mazarin had been fortunate enough to conclude the famous peace of Westphalia, by which the emperor and the empire sold the sovereignty of Alsace to the king and the crown of France, for three millions of livres, (about six millions of our present money,) to be paid to the archduke by this treaty, which became the basis of all future treaties. A new electorate was created in favour of the house of Bavaria. The rights of all the princes and cities of the empire, and even the privileges of every private gentleman, was settled at this peace. The emperor's power was restricted within very narrow limits, and the French, in conjunction with the Swedes, became the law-givers of Germany. The glory accruing from hence to France, was in part owing to the Swedish arms; Gustavus Adolphus had first begun to shake the empire. His generals had also pushed their conquests pretty far, under the government of his daughter Christina. Her
general

general Wrangel was ready to enter into Austria, count Koningsmark was master of one half of the city of Prague, and was laying siege to the other half, when this peace was concluded : and to overwhelm the emperor in this manner, it cost France only a million a year in subsidies to the Swedes.

And indeed the Swedes gained more advantages from this treaty than the French. They had Pomerania, several fortified places, and a considerable sum of money. They obliged the emperor to deliver into the hands of the Lutherans certain benefices which belonged to the Roman Catholics. The court of Rome set up the cry of impiety, and loudly declared that the cause of God and religion was betrayed. The Protestants boasted that they had sanctified the work of peace by stripping the Papists. Every one speaks as interest dictates.

The Spanish court did not accede to this peace, and with good reason ; for seeing France overwhelmed with its civil wars, the Spanish ministry was in hopes of profiting by our dissensions. The German troops, who were now disbanded, served as a fresh reinforcement to the Spaniards. The emperor, after the peace of Munster, sent thirty thousand men into Flanders, in the space of four years. This was a manifest violation of treaties ; but they are seldom executed in any other manner.

The ministers of the court of Madrid had the address in this treaty of Westphalia to make a separate peace with the Dutch. The Spanish monarchy, in short, thought itself happy to have no longer for enemies, and to acknowledge as sovereigns, those whom they had so long treated

as rebels, unworthy of pardon. These republicans encreased their wealth, and secured their tranquillity and greatness, by thus treating with Spain without breaking with France.

1653 They were so powerful, that in a war which they had some time afterwards with England, they sent an hundred ships of the line to sea; and victory long remained doubtful between Blake the English admiral, and Tromp who commanded the Dutch fleet, who were both of them at sea what Condé and Turenne were on shore. France had not at that time ten ships of fifty guns fit to send to sea; and her navy was every day falling more and more into decay.

Lewis XIV. then saw himself in 1653 absolute master of the kingdom, which was still affected with the shocks it had received; full of disorder in every branch of the administration, but abounding in resources, without any ally, except the duke of Savoy, to assist it in carrying on an offensive war, and having no foreign enemies but Spain, which was then in a worse condition than France itself. All the French who had been concerned in the civil war were subjected, except the prince of Condé and some few of his partizans, of which one or two remained faithful to him thro' friendship and gratitude, as the counts de Coligni and Bouteville; and some others, because the court would not buy their services at an exorbitant price.

Condé, now made general of the Spanish forces, could not recruit a body which he himself had weakened by the destruction of its infantry, in the battles of Rocroi and Lens. He fought

fought with new troops, of which he was not master, against the veteran regiments of the French, who had learnt to conquer under him, and were now commanded by Turenne.

It was the fortune of Condé and Turenne to be always conquerors when they fought together at the head of the French, and to be beaten when they commanded the Spaniards. Turenne had with great difficulty saved the shattered remains of the Spanish army at the battle of Retel, where, from being general to the king of France, he became lieutenant to Don Mitevan de Camarza.

The prince of Condé met with the same fate before Arras: he and the archduke were besieging that town; Turenne came and besieged them in their camp, forced their lines, and the archduke's troops were put to flight. Condé, with only two regiments of French and Lorrainers, sustained the attack of all Turenne's army; and, while the archduke was flying, he beat marshal Hoquincourt, repulsed marshal de la Ferté, and covered the retreat of the defeated Spaniards. Upon which the Spanish king wrote to him in these terms: "I have heard that all was lost, and that you have saved all."

It is difficult to say by what battles are lost or won; but it is certain that Condé was one of the greatest military geniuses that had ever appeared, and that the archduke and his council refused to do any thing that day which Condé had proposed.

Though the raising the siege of Arras, the forcing the enemy's lines, and putting the archduke to flight, reflected the highest glory on
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Turenne, it was observed, that in the letter * written in the king's name to the parliament upon this victory, the whole success of the campaign was attributed to cardinal Mazarin, without the least mention made of Turenne's name. The cardinal was actually within a few leagues of Arras with the king. He had even gone into the camp at the siege of Stenai, a town which Turenne had taken before he relieved Arras. Several councils of war had been held in the cardinal's presence: on this he founded his pretension to the honour of these events; and by this piece of vanity he drew a ridicule upon himself, which not all the authority of prime minister could efface.

The king was not present at the battle of Arras, though he might have been so; he had been in the trenches at the siege of Stenai; but the cardinal would not suffer him any more to hazard a person on which the tranquillity of the state, and the power of the minister, seemed alike to depend.

This war, which was but weakly supported, was carried on in their master's names, on one side by Mazarin, who was absolute master of France, and its young monarch; and on the other by don Lewis de Haro, who governed the Spanish kingdom under Philip IV. The name of Lewis XIV. was not then known to the world, and the king of Spain had never been spoken of. There was no crowned head at that time in Europe who enjoyed any share of personal reputation. Queen Christina of Sweden was the only one who governed alone,

* Dated at Vincennes, Sept. 11, 1654.

and supported the dignity of the throne, which was abandoned, disgraced, or unknown in other kingdoms.

Charles II. king of England, then a fugitive in France, with his mother and brother, had brought thither his misfortunes and his hopes; a private subject had subdued England, Scotland, and Ireland. Cromwell, that usurper so worthy of reigning, had prudently taken the title of Protector, and not that of King, as he knew that the English were acquainted with the extent of the royal prerogative, but did not so well know the limits of a protector's authority.

He strengthened his power by knowing when to restrain it: he made no attempt upon the rights of the people, of which they were always jealous*; he never quartered soldiers upon the city of London, nor imposed any tax which might occasion murmurings; he did not offend the public eye with too much pomp; he did not indulge himself in any pleasures; nor did he heap up riches: he took care that justice should be observed with that stern impartiality, which knows no distinction between the great and small.

* Cromwell's power was not founded upon the opinion of the people, by whom in general he was detested; but upon the strength of a standing army, inured to war, and devoted to his interest. All the world knows how he was abhorred by the friends of the church, of the old constitution, and the royal family. He was hated by the presbyterians, whom he had shamefully expelled from the parliament, and excluded from all share of his favour; and by assuming the protectorship, he had incensed his former friends and instruments the independents, who, besides, were not numerous in the kingdom.

The brother of Pantaleon Sá, the Portuguese ambassador in England, thinking that he might act as he pleased with impunity, because the person of his brother was sacred, had committed an outrage upon some citizens of London, and afterwards caused some to be assassinated by his own people, in revenge for the opposition he had met with from the rest; for this he was condemned to be hanged. Cromwell, though he had it in his power to save him, suffered him to be executed, and the next day signed a treaty with the ambassador.

Never had the trade of England been in so free and so flourishing a condition, nor the state so rich. Its victorious fleets made its name respected in every sea, while Mazarin, wholly employed in governing and heaping up riches, suffered justice, trade, navigation, and even the revenue itself, to languish and decline in France. As much master in France as Cromwell was in England, after a civil war, he might have procured the same advantages for the country which he governed, as Cromwell had done for his; but Mazarin was a foreigner, and though of a less cruel disposition than Cromwell, wanted his greatness of soul.

All the nations of Europe, who had neglected an alliance with England during the reigns of James I. and Charles, solicited it under Cromwell. Queen Christina * herself, though
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* Christina queen of Sweden, was the only child of the great Gustavus Adolphus, whom she succeeded on the throne of Sweden in the year 1633, being then about five years of age; she was a woman of a masculine genius, well tinctured with learning, and a generous patron of the liberal arts.

she had expressed her detestation at the murder of Charles I. entered into an alliance with a tyrant whom she esteemed.

Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro vied with each other, in exerting their politics to engage the protector in an alliance; and he had for some time the satisfaction to see himself courted by the two most powerful kingdoms in Christendom*.

The Spanish minister offered to assist him to take Calais; Mazarin proposed to him to besiege Dunkirk, and to put that place into his hands. Cromwell then had at his option the keys of France and Flanders. He was also strongly solicited by the great Condé; but he would not enter into a negotiation with a prince who had nothing to depend upon but his name, and who was without a party in France, and without power among the Spaniards.

The protector then determined in favour of France; but without making any particular treaty, or sharing conquests beforehand: he was desirous to render his usurpation illustri-

arts. In her disposition she was proud, vain, passionate, and capricious. Finding her government and conduct disagreeable to her subjects, she voluntarily abdicated the throne in favour of her kinsman Charles Gustavus, count-palatine of Deux-Ponts, renounced Lutheranism, embraced the Roman-catholic faith, and fixed her residence at Rome, in the midst of the literati, whom she always affected to cultivate. She was treated with great respect by the sovereign pontiffs, and, dying in the year 1689, was interred in the church of St. Peter.

* It was wretched policy in Cromwell to join France against the Spaniards; and to this step he is said to have been determined by a very singular regard he had for Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, who was the ally of France.

ous by great undertakings. He had formed the design of taking America from the Spaniards, but they had timely notice of his intention. His admirals however took the May, 1655 island of Jamaica from them, which is still in the possession of the English, and secures their trade in the new world. It was not till after the expedition to Jamaica, that Cromwell signed his treaty with the French king; and then no mention was made of Dunkirk. The protector treated with the French king as a prince with his equal, and obliged him to acknowledge his title of potector. His secretary signed before the French plenipotentiary on the copy of the treaty which remained in England; but he treated as a real superior, when he obliged Nov. 8, 1644 the French king to compel Charles II. and his brother the duke of York, both grandsons to Henry IV. (and to whom France consequently owed an asylum) to quit his dominions.

While Mazarin was engaged in this treaty, Charles II. asked one of his nieces in marriage; but the bad condition of this prince's affairs, which had obliged him to take this step, was the cause of his meeting with a refusal; and the cardinal was even suspected of an intention to marry the very niece, whom he had refused to the king of England, to Cromwell's son. This however is certain, that when he afterwards found Charles's affairs take a more favourable turn, he was for setting this match on foot again; but then he met with a refusal in his turn.

The mother of these two princes, Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry the Great, who was left in France destitute of all assistance, saw herself

herself reduced to beg of the cardinal to intercede with Cromwell, that she might at least receive her jointure. It was certainly the most extreme and grievous of all humiliations, to be obliged to sue for subsistence to the man who had spilt her husband's blood on a scaffold. Mazarin, after some few remonstrances in the queen's favour to the English court, acquainted her that he had not been able to obtain any thing. She therefore continued in poverty at Paris, and with the shame and mortification of having implored Cromwell's pity, while her sons went into the army commanded by the prince of Condé and Don John of Austria, to learn the art of war against France, which had abandoned them.

The children of Charles I. thus driven out of France, took refuge in Spain. Upon this the Spanish ministry loudly inveighed, both by word of mouth and writing, in all courts, and especially at Rome, against the cardinal's behaviour, who, they said, had sacrificed all laws, divine and humane, all honour and religion, to the murderer of a king, and had driven out of France Charles II. and the duke of York, tho' cousins to Lewis XIV. to please their father's executioner. No other reply was made to these outcries of the Spaniards, than the producing the very offers which they themselves had made to the protector.

The war was still carried on in Flanders with various success. Turenne having laid siege to Valenciennes, together with the marechal de la Ferté, experienced the same reverse of fortune which had befallen Condé before Arras. The

July, 17, prince, seconded at that time by
 1656 Don John of Austria, more worthy
 of fighting by his side than the arch-
 duke had been, forced the marshal de la Ferté's
 lines, took him prisoner, and delivered Valen-
 ciennes. Turenne then did what Condé had
 done before in a like defeat. He saved the
 routed army, made head every where against
 the enemy, and in less than a month afterwards
 went and laid siege to and took the small town
 of La Capelle: this was perhaps the first time
 that a defeated army had dared to undertake a
 siege.

This march of Turenne's, which was so
 greatly admired, and after which la Capelle
 was taken, was eclipsed by a still finer march
 of Condé's. Turenne had hardly sat down be-
 fore Cambrai, when Condé, at the head of two
 thousand horse, penetrated through the army
 of the besiegers, and, after having
 May 30, routed every thing that attempted
 1658. to stop him, threw himself into the
 town; where he was received by the citizens
 on their knees as their deliverer. Thus did
 these two great men display all the power of
 their military genius in opposition to each other.
 They were equally admired for their retreats,
 for their victories, for their good conduct, and
 even for their faults, which they always knew
 how to repair. By their talents they alternately
 checked the progress of the two monarchies
 whom they served; but the disordered state of
 the finances, both in France and Spain, still
 proved a great obstacle to their success.

At length France acquired a more distin-
 guished superiority, by the league it had made
 with

with Cromwell. On one hand admiral Blake went and burned the Spanish galleons at the Canary islands, and thus deprived them of the only treasures with which they could carry on the war; and, on the other, twenty sail of English ships blocked up the port of Dunkirk, while six thousand veteran soldiers, who had been concerned in the revolution in England, were sent to reinforce Turenne's army.

And now Dunkirk, the most important place of all Flanders was besieged by land and sea. The prince of Condé and Don John of Austria having assembled all their forces, presented themselves before the city, to raise the siege. The eyes of all Europe were attentively fixed on this great event. Cardinal Mazarin carried Lewis XIV. into the neighbourhood of the theatre of war, without suffering him to act a part therein, though he was then upwards of twenty years old. The king remained in Calais while his army attacked that of Spain near the Downa, and gained June 14,
the most glorious victory which had 1658
been known since that of Rocroi.

The prince of Condé's genius could do nothing that day against the superior forces of France and England. The Spanish army was destroyed, and Dunkirk capitulated soon after. The king and his minister repaired thither, to see the garrison march out. The cardinal would not permit Lewis XIV. to appear either in the light of a king or a warrior. He had no money to distribute among the soldiers, and indeed had hardly proper attendants: whenever he went with the army, he used to eat at Mazarin's, or at the viscount Turenne's table.

This neglect of the royal dignity was not the effect of any contempt that Lewis XIV. had for shew and parade, but from the bad state of his affairs, and the care taken by the cardinal to arrogate all splendor and authority to himself.

Lewis took possession of Dunkirk only to deliver it up to Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador. Mazarin endeavoured, by some finess to elude the treaty, and prevent the place being given up to the English; but Lockhart's threats and the English resolution got the better of Italian cunning.

It has been asserted by several persons, that the cardinal, who had arrogated to himself the affair of Arras, wanted to prevail on Turenne to yield him likewise the honour of this battle. Du Bec-Crespin, count of Moret, was sent, they say, in the minister's name, to propose to the general to write a letter, by which it might appear that the cardinal himself had laid down the whole plan of operations. Turenne received these insinuations with the contempt they deserved, and would not consent to avow a thing which would have brought disgrace on a general, and ridicule on a churchman. Mazarin, after this weakness, had that of continuing at enmity with Turenne till the day of his death.

Sept. 13, 1658 Some time after the siege of Dunkirk died Cromwell, aged 55 years, in the midst of the vast projects he had formed, for the establishment of his own power and the glory of the nation he governed. He had humbled the Dutch, dictated the conditions of a treaty with the Portuguese, conquered Spain,

Spain, and forced France to solicit his protection. Not long before his death, on being informed of the haughty manner in which his admirals behaved at Lisbon, "I am resolved, said he, to make the English republic as much respected as that of Rome was in former times." It is false what some writers pretend to tell us, that he played the enthusiast and false prophet on his death-bed*; but it is certain, that he died with the same intrepidity of soul which he had always shewn during his lifetime. He was interred like a lawful sovereign, and left behind him the reputation of a great king, which threw a veil over the crimes of the usurper.

Sir William Temple pretends that Cromwell designed before he died to enter into an alliance with Spain against France, and to recover Calais by the help of the Spanish arms, as he had got Dunkirk by those of France. Nothing was more agreeable to his character and politics; he would have rendered himself the idol of the English, by thus stripping, one after another, two nations whom they equally hated. Death however at once overturned his great designs, his tyranny, and the English greatness. It is observable, that the court of France went in mourning for Cromwell; and that mademoiselle, the duke of Orleans' daughter, was the only

* Begging our author's pardon, Cromwell had been an enthusiast from the beginning, and became so much of a prophet on his death-bed, that even when the physicians despaired of his life, "I tell you, (cries he) I shall not die of this distemper: favourable answers have been returned from heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord."

person who refused to pay this mark of respect to the memory of the murderer of a king, her relation.

Richard Cromwell succeeded his father in the protectorship, without any opposition, and in the same manner as a prince of Wales would have succeeded a king of England.

Richard was a proof that the fate of a kingdom frequently depends upon the character of one man. His genius was wholly different from that of his father Oliver; he was possessed of all the meek virtues which make the good citizen, and had none of that brutal intrepidity which sacrifices every thing to its own interests. He might have preserved the inheritance which his father had acquired by his labours, if he would have consented to put to death three or four of the principal officers of the army, who opposed his elevation; but he chose rather to lay down the government than to reign by assassination, and lived retired, and almost unknown, till the age of ninety, in a country of which he had once been the sovereign. After his quitting the protectorship he made a voyage to France, where being one day at Montpelier, the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, discoursing with him, without knowing who he was, observed, "That Oliver Cromwell was a great man, but that his son Richard was a poor wretch, not to know how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes." This Richard however lived contented, whereas his father had never known what happiness was.

Some time before, France had seen another much more extraordinary example of the contempt of a crown in the famous Christina of Sweden,

Sweden, who came to Paris. Every one admired, that a young princess, so worthy of reigning, should quit the sovereign authority for the sake of leading a life of ease and freedom. It is shameful in the Protestant writers to assert, without the least shadow of proof, that she resigned the crown only because she could keep it no longer. She had formed this design from the time she was twenty years of age, and had allowed seven years to bring it to maturity. A resolution so much above all vulgar conception, and which had been formed for such a length of time, ought to stop the mouths of those who reproach her with a levity of disposition, and of having been compelled to this abdication. One of these accusations destroys the other: but every thing great and noble is sure to be attacked by narrow minds.

The extraordinary turn of mind of this princess is sufficiently shewn by her letters. In that which she wrote to Chanut, who had formerly been ambassador from France at her court, she thus expresses herself: "I wore the crown without ostentation, and I resign it with readiness: after this you have nothing to fear for me, my happiness is out of the reach of fortune." She wrote thus to the great Condé: "I think myself as much honoured by your esteem as by the crown I have worn. If after having resigned that, you shall think me less deserving of the other, I will own to you that the tranquillity I have so much desired, will appear dearly bought; but I shall never repent of having purchased it at the price of a crown; nor will ever fully an act which to me appears so glorious, by a mean repentance: and

if perchance you should condemn what I have done, I shall only tell you in excuse, that I should never have resigned the possessions which Fortune bestowed on me, had I judged them necessary to my happiness; and should even have aspired at the sovereignty of the world, could I have been as certain of succeeding or dying in the attempt, as the great Condé would have been."

Such was the soul of this extraordinary personage, and such her stile in our language, which she was but rarely accustomed to speak. She understood eight different languages; she had been the friend and pupil of Descartes, who died in her palace at Stockholm, after having in vain tried to obtain a pension in France, where his works were even forbidden to be read, on account of the only good things which were in them. She invited into her kingdom all who were capable of bringing any knowledge into it; and the vexation of finding no men of learning among her own subjects, had given her a dislike to reigning over a people who were unacquainted with every thing but arms. She judged it more eligible to live privately among thinking men, than to rule over a people who had neither learning nor genius. She patronized and cultivated all the arts, in a country where they were till her time unknown, and designed to make Italy the place of her retreat, where she might indulge herself in the midst of them; and, as they had but just begun to make their appearance in France, she only passed through that kingdom in her way to Rome, where her inclination determined her to fix her abode; and with this view she quitted the

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the Lutheran religion for the Catholic. Equally indifferent to either, she made no scruple of outwardly conforming to the sentiments of a people among whom she was desirous of passing her life. She quitted the throne in 1654, and publickly performed the ceremony of her abjuration at Inspruck. She was admired at the French court, though she surpassed all the women there in understanding. The king saw her, and did her the greatest honours; but he did not discourse much with her. He had been bred up in ignorance, and his natural good sense made him bashful.

The only extraordinary thing the ladies and courtiers remarked in this philosophical queen was, that she did not dress after the French fashion, and that she danced ill. The learned found nothing to condemn in her except the murder of Monaldeschi *, her master of the horse,

* John marquis de Monaldeschi was master of the horse to queen Christina, and one of her greatest favourites; but he abused her confidence, and divulged some secrets that concerned her honour and reputation. Christina, having discovered his treachery, condemned him to death while she resided at the palace of Fontainebleau. One day she sent for the superior of the fathers Trinitarians, and in the mean time talked as usual with Monaldeschi in a gallery. When the father arrived, he was followed into the apartment by the captain of her guards and two soldiers. Then Christina produced to the delinquent his own intercepted letters, to prove his infidelity. Having reproached him for his baseness, she desired the priest to dispose him for death. The marquis, who was in the flower of his age, and very unwilling to die, had recourse to prayers, tears, and intreaties, that his life might be spared, even tho' he should be banished from Europe, and live in perpetual exile. The priest joined in his intreaties, and even remon-

horse, whom she caused to be assassinated at Fontainebleau in the second journey she made to France, for some fault he had been guilty of towards her. As she had laid down the sovereign authority, she had no longer a right to do herself justice. She could no longer be considered as a queen who punished a misdemeanour of state, but as a private woman who ended a love-affair by a murder. This infamous and cruel action sullied that philosophy which had made her quit a throne. Had she been in England, she would have been punished; but the court of France winked at this insult against the royal authority, the law of nations, and humanity.

After Cromwell was dead, and his son Richard deposed, England continued for a year in anarchy and confusion. Charles Gustavus, to whom queen Christina had resigned the kingdom of Sweden, made himself formidable in the North and in Germany. The emperor Fer-

strated on the consequences of her taking such a violent step in a palace belonging to the king of France. She remained inflexible, and withdrew. The father confessed Monaldeschi, and the soldiers falling upon him with their swords, slew him with some difficulty; for he wore secret armour under his cloaths. Christina caused his body to be decently interred, and masses to be said for the repose of his soul. She attempted to justify what she had done by alledging, that though she had abdicated the crown, she did not divest herself of that royalty which authorised her to punish the treachery of her own domestics. This excuse was not admitted by the French ministry, and she was given to understand that her presence was no longer agreeable in France; an intimation in consequence of which she returned to Rome, where she effected a match between the niece of Monaldeschi and Matthew de Bourbon, lord of Delmonte.

dinand died in 1657. His son Leopold, who was seventeen years old, and was already king of Hungary and Bohemia, had not been chosen king of the Romans during his father's lifetime. Mazarin endeavoured to get Lewis XIV. chosen emperor. This was a wild scheme: he ought to have compelled or corrupted the electors into his interest; but France was not in itself sufficiently powerful to seize on the empire, nor rich enough to purchase it; consequently the first overtures of this kind made at Frankfort by the marshal de Grammont and Lionne were laid aside almost as soon as proposed, and Leopold was chosen emperor. All that Mazarin's policy could then effect, was to engage the German princes in a league for securing the observance of the treaties of Munster, and to curb the emperor's authority in the empire.

After the affair of Dunkirk, France became powerful abroad by the reputation of her arms, and the bad condition to which other nations were reduced: but she suffered greatly at home; she was exhausted of money, and in want of peace.

In christian monarchies the state itself is seldom interested in its sovereign's wars. Mercenary armies, raised by the order of a minister, and commanded by generals blindly devoted to his will, carry on several destructive campaigns, without the princes in whose name they fight having the least expectation or even intention of depriving each other of their whole patrimony. The people of the victorious state reap no advantage from the spoils of those who are conquered. They pay all expences, and

are alike sufferers, whether their country be prosperous or unsuccessful. Peace therefore is as necessary to them, even after the greatest victory, as if even their enemies were in possession of all their frontier places.

There were two things wanting for the cardinal to finish his administration happily, the one was to bring about a peace, and the other to secure the tranquility of the nation by marrying the king. The young monarch had been dangerously ill after the campaign of Dunkirk, insomuch that his life was despaired of. The cardinal, who knew he was not liked by monsieur the king's brother, had some intention, at this dangerous conjuncture, of securing his immense riches, and preparing for a retreat. These considerations determined him to marry his royal pupil as soon as possible. Two parties presented themselves at that time; the king of Spain's daughter and the princess of Savoy. The king's heart however had been previously engaged a different way; he was desperately in love with mademoiselle de Mancini, one of the cardinal's nieces, and as he was by nature amorous, positive in his will, and void of experience, it was not unlikely that in the warmth of his passion, he might have determined to marry his favourite mistress.

Madame de Motteville, the queen mother's confidante, whose memoirs carry a great air of truth, pretends that Mazarin was tempted to give way to the king's passion, and place his niece on the throne. He had already married one of his nieces to the prince of Conti; and a second to the duke of Mercœur; and her whom Lewis XIV was so fond of, had been demanded
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in marriage by the king of England *. These were so many encouragements to justify his ambition: Being one day alone with the queen mother, he artfully took opportunity to sound her on this subject. "I am afraid, said he, that the king has a strong inclination to marry my niece." The queen mother, who knew the cardinal perfectly well, presently conjectured that he wished what he affected to fear, and with all the haughtiness of a princess of the Austrian blood, the daughter, wife, and mother of kings, and full of resentment against a minister who seemed to have shaken off all dependence upon her, she made him this reply: "Was the king himself capable of such a meanness, I would instantly put myself, with my second son, at the head of the people against the king and you."

It is said that Mazarin never forgave the queen for this spirited answer: but he was wise enough to fall in with her sentiments, and made a merit of opposing the king's passion; his power did not stand in need of a queen of his own blood to support it. He was even apprehensive of his niece's disposition, and thought he should more effectually secure the authority of his place by shunning the dangerous glory of too greatly exalting his family.

He had in the year 1656 sent Lionne into Spain to bring about a peace, and demand the infanta in marriage; but Don Lewis de Haro, sensible that weak as Spain was, France was not much stronger, had rejected the cardinal's offers. The infanta, who was the child of a

* Charles II. when in exile in France,

former marriage, was destined for young Leopold. The Spanish king had at that time only one son by his second wife, and this young prince was of so infirm a constitution, that it was imagined he could hardly live. It was therefore determined that the infanta, who was likely to become heiress to such large dominions should transfer her claims to the house of Austria, rather than to the family of an enemy: but Philip IV. having afterwards another son, (Don Philip Prospero) and his queen being again with child, there did not appear so much danger in giving the infanta to the French king; besides, the battle of Dunkirk had made him wish for a peace.

The Spanish court then promised the infanta to Lewis XIV. and desired a cessation of arms. Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro met on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, in the Isle of Pheasants. Notwithstanding the design of their meeting was no less than that of settling the marriage of the king of France, and a general peace, a whole month was taken up in determining the disputes which arose about precedence, and in adjusting certain points of ceremony. The cardinals insisted upon being equal with kings, and superior to other sovereign princes. France with more justice pretended to the preheminance over all other kings. However, don Lewis de Haro kept up a perfect equality between Mazarin and himself, and between the crowns of France and Spain.

The conferences lasted four months, in which don Lewis and Mazarin displayed the whole strength of their politics. The cardinal excelled in finesse, Don Lewis was remarkable for his

his deliberation. The former never spoke but with a double meaning, the latter very sparingly. The Italian minister's talent lay in endeavouring to surprise; that of the Spaniard, in guarding against a surprise. It is reported that in speaking of the cardinal he said, "There is one great fault in his politics, he is always endeavouring to deceive."

Such is the vicissitude of human affairs, that there are hardly two articles of this famous treaty of the Pyrenees now subsisting. The French king kept Roussillon, which he would always have kept without this peace; but with respect to Flanders, the Spanish monarchy has now nothing left there. Our court (of France) was at that time necessarily in friendship with Portugal; we are now no longer so; every thing is changed. Though Don Lewis de Haro accused cardinal Mazarin of deceit, the world has since acknowledged that he had the gift of foresight. He had for a long time formed the design of an alliance between France and Spain, witness that famous letter of his which he wrote during the conferences at Munster. "If his most christian majesty could have the Low Countries and Franche Comté, as a marriage portion with the infanta, in that case we might aspire to the Spanish succession, notwithstanding any renunciation made in the infanta's name; neither would it be a very distant prospect, seeing that there is only the life of the prince, her brother, to exclude her from it." This prince was Balthazar, who died in 1649.

It is plain that the cardinal was deceived, in supposing that the court of Spain would give the Low Countries and the Franche Comté
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with the infanta. There was not a single town stipulated for a dowry with her; on the contrary, we restored several considerable towns to the Spanish monarchy, which we had taken from it during the course of the war; such as St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, Oudenarde, and some other places. The cardinal however was right in supposing that the renunciation would one day be of no effect; but those who give him the honour of this prediction, suppose him to have likewise foreseen that prince Balthazar would die in 1649; that afterwards the three children by the second wife, should all die in the cradle; that Charles, the fifth of all these male children, should die without issue; and that this Austrian king should one day make a will in favour of Lewis XIV's. grandson. But the truth is, that cardinal Mazarin foresaw what value would be set upon a renunciation, in case the male issue of Philip IV. should all fail; and this was justified by a series of extraordinary events, above fifty years afterwards.

The infanta Maria Theresa, who might have had for her dowry those towns which France by this treaty of marriage was obliged to restore, instead of that had only five hundred thousand golden crowns for her fortune: it cost the king more to go and receive her on the frontiers. However, these five hundred thousand crowns, worth at that time about two millions five hundred thousand livres, were the subject of much altercation between the two ministers, and at last we never received more than one hundred thousand francs.

So far was this marriage from being of any real present advantage, excepting that of peace, that

that the infantas renounced for ever all right or claim to any of her father's territories, and Lewis XIV. ratified this renunciation in the most solemn manner, and caused it to be registered in parliament.

These renunciations, and a portion of five hundred thousand crowns, seemed to be customary clauses in the marriage-contracts between the infantas of Spain and the kings of France. Queen Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III. was married to Lewis XIII. on the same conditions; and when Isabella, daughter of our Henry the Great, was married to Philip IV. king of Spain, there were no more than five hundred thousand crowns agreed upon for a portion with her, and no part of that was ever payed; so that there did not seem at that time to be any great advantage in these grand marriages.

Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, of whom France and Spain had great reason to complain, or rather who had great reason to complain of them, was included in this treaty; but on the footing of an unfortunate prince, whom they punished because he could not make himself feared. France restored him his dominions, after dismantling Nanci, and prohibiting him from keeping any troops. Don Lewis de Haro obliged cardinal Mazarin to procure the prince of Condé's pardon, threatening otherwise to bestow on him the sovereignty of Rocroi, Cha-telet, and other places in which he was in possession. Thus France at once gained these towns and the great Condé. However, he lost his post of master of the household to the king, and returned with little else than glory.

Charles

Charles II. the titular king of England, who was still more unfortunate than the duke of Lorraine, came to the Pyrenees, while they were negotiating the peace, to implore the assistance of the cardinal and don Lewis de Haro. He flattered himself that their kings, who were his cousin-germans, being now in alliance, would, as Cromwell was no more, have the courage to revenge a cause which concerned every crowned head; but he could not even obtain an interview with either of the ministers. Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador, was at St. John de Luz, and made himself still respected, notwithstanding the death of his master; and the two ministers fearing to disoblige him, refused to see Charles. They thought it impossible that he should ever be restored, and were persuaded that all the English factions, though at variance among themselves, would unanimously join to exclude for ever the kingly authority; but herein they were both deceived, and fortune a few months afterwards brought about that which these ministers might have had the honour of undertaking. Charles was recalled by the English, without a single potentate having interfered, either to prevent the murder of the father, or the son's restoration. He landed at Dover, and was received by twenty thousand of his subjects on their knees. I have been told by some old people who were upon the spot, that almost every one present was bathed in tears. There never was perhaps a more affecting sight, nor a more sudden revolution. This change was brought about in less time than

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the treaty of the Pyrenees took in concluding ; and Charles II. was in quiet possession of the English throne before Lewis XIV. was even married by proxy.

And now cardinal Mazarin conducted the king and his new consort back to Paris. His behaviour on this occasion was like that of a father who had married his son, without allowing him to have the management of his estate. This minister returned more powerful and more jealous of his authority and dignity than ever. He no longer gave the upper hand to the princes of the blood, in a third place, as formerly ; and he who had behaved towards don Lewis de Haro as his equal, attempted to treat the great Condé as his inferior. He now appeared in public with royal pomp, having, besides his ordinary guard, a company of musqueteers, the same which is now the second company in the king's musqueteers. There was no longer any access to be had to the royal person ; and whosoever was so little of a courtier as to apply to the king for any favour, was surely ruined. The queen-mother, who had so long been this minister's firm protectress, against the whole French nation, saw herself left without credit, as soon as he was no longer in want of her assistance. The king, her son, who had been brought up in a blind submission to this minister, was unable to throw off the yoke she had imposed upon him as well as herself : she had a respect for her own work, and Lewis XIV. never dared to reign while Mazarin was alive.

A minister is excuseable for the evil he may do when the helm of the government is forced into

into his hands by storms of state; but when there is a calm, he is answerable for all the good he does not do. Mazarin did good to no one but himself and those related to him: of the eight years of absolute and undisturbed authority which he enjoyed, from his last return till the day of his death, not one was distinguished by any honourable or useful establishment; for the college of the four nations was erected only in consequence of his last will. He managed the finances like a steward whose master is immersed in debt.

The king would sometimes ask Fouquet for money, who used to answer, "Sire, there is none in your majesty's coffers, but my lord cardinal can lend you some." Mazarin was worth about two hundred millions, according to the present value of money. It is said, in several memoirs, that he acquired great part of his wealth by means which were beneath the dignity of his post; and that he obliged those who fitted out privateers to allow him a share in the profits of their cruizes: this has never been proved; but the Dutch suspected him of something of this nature, a suspicion they would never have entertained of his predecessor, cardinal Richelieu.

It is said that he was troubled with some scruples of conscience on his death-bed, though he died in appearance with great courage. He was certainly in apprehension for his riches, of which he made a full donation to the king, supposing that his majesty would restore them to him again; in this he judged right, for three days afterwards the king returned him back his deed of gift. Soon afterwards he died, seemingly

ingly unregretted by any one but the king, who had already learnt the art of dissembling. The yoke began to sit heavy upon his shoulders, and he grew impatient to reign; nevertheless he thought it prudent to wear the appearance of concern for a death which put him in possession of his throne.

Lewis XIV. and his court went into mourning for the cardinal; a very extraordinary mark of honour, and what Henry IV. had paid to the memory of the fair Gabrielle d'Etrees.

We shall not undertake in this place to examine whether cardinal Mazarin was a great minister or not; we leave his actions to speak for him, and posterity to judge; but we cannot forbear opposing that mistaken notion, which ascribes a more than common understanding, and an almost divine genius, to those who have governed great kingdoms with tolerable success. It is not a superior share of penetration that makes statesmen, it is their particular character; all men that have any tolerable degree of understanding can nearly discern what is their interests. A common citizen of Amsterdam, or Berne, knows as much on this head as Sejanus, Ximenes, Buckingham, Richelieu, or Mazarin: but our conduct and our undertakings depend wholly upon the temperament of our souls, and our successes depend upon fortune.

For example: if one with a genius like that of pope Alexander VI. or his son Borgia, had undertaken to reduce Rochelle, he would have invited the principal citizens of the place into his camp, under the sanction of the most solemn oaths, and then have murdered them all. Ma-

zarin would have got possession of the town two or three years later, by gaining over some of the citizens, and sowing dissention among the rest. Don Lewis de Haro would never have hazarded the undertaking. Richelieu, after the example of Alexander, built a mole in the sea, and entered as a conqueror; but a stronger tide than usual, or a little more diligence on the part of the English, would have saved Rochelle and have made Richelieu pass for a mad adventurer.

We may judge of a man's character by the nature of his undertakings. We may safely affirm that Richelieu's soul was full of pride and revenge; that Mazarin was prudent, supple, and avaritious; but to know how far a minister is a man of understanding, we must either have frequently heard him discourse, or have read what he has written. That which we every day see among courtiers frequently happens amongst statesmen. He who has the greatest talents often fails, while he who is of a more patient, resolute, supple, and equable disposition, succeeds.

In reading Mazarin's letters, and cardinal de Retz's memoirs, we may easily perceive de Retz to have been the superior genius; nevertheless, the former attained the summit of power, and the latter was banished. In a word, it is a certain truth, that, to be a powerful minister, little more is required than a middling understanding, good sense, and fortune; but, to be a good minister, the prevailing passion of the soul must be a love for the public good; and he is the greatest statesman who leaves behind him the most noble monuments of public utility.

C H A P. CLXXI.

LEWIS XIV. governs alone. He obliges the SPANISH Branch of the House of AUSTRIA to yield him the Precedency every where, and the court of ROME to give him Satisfaction. He purchases DUNKIRK, sends Succours to the EMPEROR, the DUTCH, and the PORTUGUESE, and renders his Kingdom powerful and flourishing.

NEVER was a court so full of intrigues and expectations as that of France, while cardinal Mazarin lay dying. Those among the women who had any claim to beauty, flattered themselves with the hopes of governing a young prince, who was only two and twenty years old, and whom love had already influenced to make a tender of his crown to a favourite mistress. The young courtiers imagined that they should easily renew the reign of favourites. Every one of the officers of state thought that he should fill the first place in the ministry, not one of them suspecting that a king, who had been brought up in such an ignorance of state-affairs, would venture to take the burthen of government upon his own shoulders. Mazarin had kept the king in a state of nonage as long as he was able, and had not till very lately let him into the mystery of reigning, and then only because he had insisted upon being instructed.

They were so far from wishing to be governed by their sovereign, that of all those who had been concerned with Mazarin in the administration,

nistration, not one applied to the king to know when he would give them an audience ; on the contrary, every one asked him " Whom they were to apply to ? " and were not a little surprised when Lewis answered, " To me : " their astonishment was still encreased, on finding him persevere. He had for some time consulted his own strength, and made a trial in secret of his capacity for reigning. His resolution once taken, he maintained it to the last moment of his life. He appointed every minister proper limits to his power, obliging them to give him an account of every thing at certain hours, shewing them so much confidence as was necessary to give a proper weight to their office, and carefully watching over them to prevent their abuse of it. He began by restoring order in the finances, which had been miserably mismanaged through a continuance of rapine.

He likewise established a proper discipline among the troops. His court was at once magnificent and decent ; even the pleasures appeared there with a degree of lustre and greatness. The arts were all encouraged and employed, to the glory of the king and kingdom.

This is not the place for painting his character in a private life, nor in the domestic government of his kingdom : we shall reserve this for a part by itself. It is sufficient to say, that the people, who, since the death of Henry IV. had never seen a true king, and who detested the authority of a prime minister, were filled with admiration and hope, when they saw Lewis XIV. do that, at twenty-two years of age, which Henry did at fifty. Had Henry IV. had a prime minister, he would have been lost,

lost, because the hatred against a private man would have awakened twenty different factions, which would have become too powerful. If Lewis XIII. had not had a minister, that prince, whose feeble and sickly constitution made his soul weak and enervated, would have sunk beneath the weight of government; Lewis XIV. might or might not have had a prime-minister without any danger. There were not the least traces left of the old factions which had distracted the state. There was now only a master and subjects in France; Lewis, at the very beginning, shewed that he aspired after glory, and that he was resolved to make himself respected both at home and abroad.

The antient kings of Europe had always pretended to an exact equality with each other; this was very natural: but the kings of France always claimed that precedency which was due to the antiquity of their race and kingdom; and if they yielded place to the emperors, it was because mankind have hardly ever the courage to abolish a long established custom. The head of the German republic, though an elective prince, and has very little power of his own, has undoubtedly the precedency of all kings, in virtue of his title of Cæsar and heir to Charlemagne. His German chancery does not even give the title of majesty to any other crowned head. The kings of France might dispute the precedency with the emperors, as France had founded the real western empire, of which the name only subsists in Germany. They could plead not only the superiority of an hereditary crown over an elective dignity, but the advantage of being descended in an uninterrupted

succession of sovereigns, who reigned over a great monarchy several centuries before that any of those houses who are now in possession of crowns, had attained to the least degree of dignity. However, they were determined to assert their right of precedence over all the other potentates of Europe. They alledged in support of their claim the title of Most Christian, to which the Spanish kings opposed theirs of Most Catholic; and since Charles V. had had a king of France prisoner at Madrid, the Spanish pride had made them more tenacious than ever of their rank. The English and Swedes, who plead none of these surnames at present, acknowledged as little as was possible this superiority.

Rome was the place where these pretensions used formerly to be canvassed; the popes, who disposed of kingdoms by a bull, imagined they had a much greater right to settle the rank between crowned heads. This court, where every thing passes in ceremony, was the tribunal for trying these varieties of greatness. France had always had the superiority there when she was more powerful than Spain; but since the reign of Charles V. Spain had let slip no opportunity of maintaining an equality. The dispute was left undetermined; the precedence at a procession, or an elbow-chair placed near the altar, or opposite to the pulpit, were matters of triumph, and established titles to that precedence. The chimerical point of honour in these articles was at that time carried to as great extremes between crowned heads, as duels were among private persons.

It

It happened, that at the entry of a Swedish ambassador at London, the count 1661
d'Estrade, ambassador from France, and the baron Watteville, ambassador from the court of Spain, disputed the way. The Spaniard having more money, and a greater train of servants, gained the English populace over to his interest, who began to kill the French ambassador's coach-horses, and soon afterwards fell upon his people, who being wounded took to their heels, and left the Spaniards to proceed in triumph with their swords drawn.

Lewis XIV. being informed of this insult offered to his ambassador, immediately recalled the minister he had at Madrid, and ordered the Spanish ambassador to leave France; broke off the conferences which were then carrying on in Flanders on the subject of the limits, and sent word to his father-in-law Philip IV. that, unless he acknowledged the superiority of the French crown, and repaired the affront which had been offered his ambassador, by a public satisfaction, he would instantly renew the war. Philip IV. was not willing to plunge his kingdom again into a fresh war for the sake of an ambassador's precedence: he sent the count of Fuentes to declare to the king at Fontainebleau, in presence of all the foreign ministers who were then in France, "That March 14,
the Spanish ministers should no longer dispute the precedence with 1661
those of France." This was not clearly acknowledging the king's pre-eminence, but it was a sufficient avowal of the weakness of the Spanish court. This court, which still preserved its haughtiness, murmured for a long time at its
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humiliation. Since then several Spanish ministers have renewed their old pretensions, and actually obtained an equality at Nimeguen; but Lewis XIV. at that time acquired by his resolution a real superiority in Europe, by convincing all the powers how much he was to be feared.

He had scarcely concluded this small affair with so much dignity, when he shewed still more on an occasion in which his glory seemed not so much interested. During the long wars carried on against the Spaniards in Italy, the behaviour of the young French gentry had inspired the cautious and jealous Italians with the notion of their being a headstrong and impetuous people. The Italians looked upon all the nations by whom theirs was over-run as barbarians, and the French as barbarians more gay, but at the same time more dangerous than the rest, as they introduced, into all families where they came, a taste for pleasures, with an air of contempt, and debauchery with outrage; in short, they were dreaded every where, and especially at Rome.

The duke de Crequi, the French ambassador at the pope's court, had greatly displeased the people of Rome by his arrogant behaviour: his servants, a set of people who always carry the faults of their masters to extremes, committed the same disorders in Rome as the unbridled youth of France did in Paris, who at that time prided themselves in attacking the city-watch every night.

Some of this nobleman's servants took it into their heads to fall sword in hand upon a party of the Corsi, (who are the city-guard at Rome)

and put them to flight." The whole body of the Corsi, incensed at this ill usage, and spirited up by Don Mario Chigi, brother to Alexander VII. the reigning pope, who hated the duke of Crequi, went with a multitude of his followers in arms, and besieged the duke in his own house. They even fired upon the ambassadress' coach, as she was driving into her palace, killed one of her pages, and wounded several of her other servants. The duke de Crequi upon this left Rome, loudly accusing the pope's relation, and even his holiness himself, of having countenanced this insult and murder. The pope deferred giving him satisfaction as long as he possibly could, in the persuasion that there requires only a little temporising with the French, for every thing to be forgotten. At the end of about four months he caused one of the Corsican guard, and a Sbirri, to be hanged, and banished the governor of Rome, who was suspected of having authorised these violent proceedings: but he was in no small consternation when he learnt that the French king threatened to lay siege to Rome; that he had already ordered troops to be transported into Italy for that purpose; and that the marshal du Pleffis-Pralin was appointed general. This affair was become a national quarrel, and the king was determined to support the dignity of his crown. The pope, before he could be brought to make the concessions demanded of him, implored the mediation of all the catholic princes, and at the same time did all in his power to stir them up against Lewis XIV. but the situation of affairs were at

that time unfavourable for the holy father. The emperor was attacked by the Turks; and Spain was engaged in an unsuccessful war against the Portuguese.

The court of Rome therefore only irritated the king, without being able to hurt him. The parliament of Provence summoned the pope to appear, and seized upon his county of Avignon. At any other time such an insult upon the papal dignity would have been followed by a peal of excommunications from the Vatican, but those arms were now become equally useless and ridiculous. The holy father found himself under the necessity of giving way, and was obliged to banish his own brother from Rome; to send his nephew cardinal Chigi, in character of legate *a latere*, to make the king satisfaction; to break the Corsican guard; and to erect a pillar in the city of Rome, with an inscription expressing the injury and reparation.

Cardinal Chigi was the first legate, who had ever been sent from the papal court to ask pardon. Before that, the legates had always been sent to give laws, and impose the tax of the tenth penny. The king did not content himself with accepting these temporary ceremonies, in return for an injury offered, nor yet with monuments which are equally so, (for some years afterwards he permitted this pyramid to be destroyed) but he obliged the court of Rome to restore Castro and Ronciglione to the duke of Parma; to indemnify the duke of Modena for his claims on Commachio; and thus, from an insult offered him, he derived the solid honour of being the protector of the Italian princes.

While

While he thus supported his dignity, he forgot not to increase his power. The good management of his finances, under Colbert, enabled him to purchase Dunkirk and Mardyke of the king of England, for five millions of livres, at twenty six livres ten sous the mark. Charles II. who was a spendthrift and a beggar, to his eternal disgrace sold this place, which his subjects had purchased with their blood. Lord chancellor Hyde, who was accused of having advised or connived at this meanness, was banished by the English parliament, who frequently punish the crimes of favourites, and sometimes even pass sentence upon its kings.

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Lewis set thirty thousand men to work to fortify Dunkirk both towards land and sea. A large basin was dug between the town and the citadel, capable of containing several men of war; so that the English had hardly sold this place, when it became the object of their terror. A short time afterwards, the king obliged the duke of Lorraine to give him up the strong hold of Marsal. This unfortunate prince, who, though in some reputation as a soldier, was of a weak, fickle, and imprudent disposition, had lately made a treaty, by which he gave the dutchy of Lorraine to France after his death, on condition that the king should permit him to raise a million upon the territory, which he gave up; and the princes of the blood-royal of Lorraine should take rank as princes of the blood of France. This treaty, which was in vain registered by the parliament of Paris, served only to produce new instances of levity on the side of the duke,

1663

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1663

who in the end thought himself very happy to give up Marfal, and throw himself upon the king's clemency.

Lewis encreased his dominions even in peace, and always kept himself in readines for war, fortifying the frontier towns, augmenting the number of his troops, keeping them well disciplined, and frequently reviewing them in person.

The Turks were then a very formidable people in Europe; they attacked the emperor and the Venetians at one and the same time. It has been a maxim in politics with the kings of France ever since Francis I. to be in alliance with the Turkish emperors, not only on account of the advantage arising to their trade, but for the sake of preventing the house of Austria from becoming too powerful. However, a Christian king could not well refuse his assistance to the emperor, when so hard pressed. It was the interest of France that the Turks should raise disturbances in Hungary, but not that they should get possession of it; and, lastly, the treaties in which Lewis was engaged with the empire made this step as indispensable as it was honourable to him.

Lewis then sent six thousand men into Hungary, under the command of the count of Coligni, the only remaining branch of the family of Coligni, formerly so famous in our civil wars, and who perhaps deserves to be as much renowned as the admiral for his valour and virtuous qualifications. He was strictly connected by friendship with the great Condé; and not all the offers of cardinal Mazarin could ever make him fail in what he owed to his friend.

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He was accompanied by the flower of the French nobility; and, among others, by the young Feuillade, a man of an enterprising disposition, and unquenchable thirst for riches and glory. These went all together into Hungary, to serve under general Montecuculi, who was making head against the Turkish vizir Kiuperli, and who afterwards, when he served against France, counterbalanced the reputation of the great Turenne. A great battle was fought at Saint Gothard on the banks of the Raab, between the Imperial and Turkish armies, in which the French performed such prodigies of valour, that the Germans themselves, who were not fond of them, could not help doing them justice. The Germans however are not treated with the same justice by those writers, who pretend to ascribe the honour of the victory wholly to the French.

The king, while he thus placed his greatness in openly assisting the emperor, and raising the glory of the French arms, made a point of politics in secretly succouring the Portuguese against the king of Spain. Cardinal Mazarin had solemnly given up the cause of Portugal by the Pyrenean treaty; but the Spanish court, having been guilty of several little tacit infractions of that treaty; the French, in their turn, made a more bold and decisive one. Marshal Schomberg, a foreigner and a Huguenot by religion, was sent over to Portugal with four thousand French soldiery, who, under pretence of being in the pay of the Portuguese, were in fact maintained by the French king's money. These French troops, in conjunction with a

June 1664 body of Portuguese, gained a complete victory over the Spanish army at Villa Viciosa, by which the house of Braganza was fixed on the throne of Portugal. Lewis now began to be looked upon as a warlike and politic prince; and Europe stood in dread of him even before he had declared war.

By the same policy, he eluded the performance of the promises he had made, to join the few ships he had at that time with the Dutch fleet. He had entered into an alliance with the states-general, in the year 1662, about which time that republic had renewed a war with England, on the vain and idle subject of the honour of the flags, and its real claim to a trade in the Indies; Lewis beheld with pleasure these two maritime powers sending fleets of an hundred sail every year to destroy each other, by the most obstinate fights that had ever been known, which only tended to the weakening of both sides. One of these engagements lasted for three days, and here it was that the Dutch admiral de Ruyter acquired the reputation of being the greatest seaman that had yet appeared. This was the same who burnt the finest ships the English nation had, even in their own harbours, not above four leagues distant from London. He made the Dutch flag triumphant at sea*, where the English

* That the Dutch admirals and De Ruyter in general behaved with great gallantry and conduct in the course of this war, is not to be denied; but that the Dutch wrested the empire of the sea from England, we cannot allow. In the first battle of this war, fought in the year 1665, the

lish had hitherto always been the masters, and where Lewis XIV. was as yet nothing.

The empire of the sea was for some time divided between these two nations. They were then the only people who rightly under-

the duke of York gained a complete victory over Opdam and Van Tromp. The second engagement between prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle on one part, and the admirals De Ruyter and Van Tromp on the other, fought in the year 1666, was a drawn battle; after which both sides claimed the victory, though it must be owned that the English sustained the greatest loss. This battle was fought in the beginning of June; and about the end of July, De Ruyter and Van Tromp were defeated by prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle. Admiral Holmes insulted the coast of Holland, burned two ships of war, and a great number of merchant ships in the river Vlie, and making a descent on Schelling, reduced the town of Brandaris to ashes. With respect to the boasted exploit of burning the English ships in the river Medway, this is a true state of the case. The conferences for a peace were already opened at Breda, and the chief articles of the treaty agreed upon. Charles II. looking upon the peace as already concluded, and being desirous of converting part of the parliamentary supply to his own private use, ordered the large ships to be unrigged, keeping only a small squadron in commission. De Ruyter, taking advantage of his security, failed from the Texel with fifty ships of the line, silenced the small fort at Sheerness, broke down a chain drawn across the mouth of the Medway, destroyed three guard-ships moored within side of chain, sailed up the river to Upmore castle, which they easily reduced, together with three ships of the line, which were set on fire. After this exploit, De Ruyter made an unsuccessful attempt upon Portsmouth, and another upon Plymouth, took some merchant ships, insulted the coast, and domineered in the channel, till the treaty was concluded. In the second war with the Dutch, the fight of Solebay ended to the disadvantage of De Ruyter, who retired in the night. The second, third, and fourth were drawn battles.

stood the art of building ships, and employing them either for trade or war. France, during Richelieu's ministry, thought herself powerful at sea, because, out of about threescore vessels, which was then the whole of its marine, it had about thirty fit to send to sea, the largest of which mounted only seventy guns. In Mazarin's administration, they purchased what few ships they had from the Dutch. They were in want of sailors, officers, and manufactories, both for building and fitting out ships. The king with incredible diligence set about repairing the ruined condition of the marine, and to supply his kingdom with all it wanted; but in 1664 and 1665, while the English and Dutch covered the ocean with near three hundred sail of large men of war, he had not above fifteen or sixteen, and those of the smallest rates, which were employed under the duke of Beaufort against the Barbary corsairs; and when the states-general pressed Lewis XIV. to join his fleet to theirs, there was only one fire-ship in Brest harbour, which it was shameful to send, till upon their repeated remonstrances it was at last sent. This was no small disgrace to the French nation; but Lewis, by his extraordinary vigilance, speedily and effectually removed it.

But he furnished the states with much more essential and honourable succours by land; he sent six thousand French to defend them against Christopher Gerard Van Galen, bishop of Munster, a prelate of a warlike disposition, and implacable in his enmity, who was paid by England to distress the Dutch; but Lewis made them pay dearly for this assistance, and behaved towards them

them like a great man in power, who sells his protection to a body of rich merchants. Colbert made them accountable, not only for the pay of these troops, but even for the charges of an embassy, which was sent to England to conclude a peace for them with Charles II. Never were succours given with a worse grace, nor accepted with less thankfulness.

The king having thus exercised his troops in martial discipline, formed a number of good officers by the campaigns in Hungary, Holland, and Portugal, and asserted the honour of his name, and made it respected at Rome, beheld not a single potentate of whom he had occasion to stand in awe. England, visited by a plague, which laid waste the whole kingdom, and London its capital reduced to ashes by a fatal conflagration, which was falsely charged upon the Roman catholics; the prodigality and continual indigence of Charles II. which proved as fatal to his affairs as the scourges of pestilence and fire; made France perfectly easy with respect to that nation. The emperor had scarcely recovered the losses he had suffered in the war with the Turk. The Spanish king Philip IV. being on the point of death, and his kingdom in as weak a condition as himself, Lewis XIV. remained the only powerful and formidable sovereign in Europe. He was young, rich, well served, blindly obeyed, and burnt with impatience to signalize himself and to become a conqueror.

CHAP. CLXXII.

The Conquest of FLANDERS.

THE king was not long without an opportunity he so earnestly desired. His father-in-law, Philip IV. died ; this prince had by his first wife, sister to Lewis XIII. the princess Maria-Theresa, who was married to her cousin, Lewis XIV. by which match the Spanish monarchy fell at length into the house of Bourbon, which had been so long its enemy. By his second marriage, he had Charles II. a weak and unhealthy child, but who lived to inherit his father's crown, being the only surviving of three male children, the other two having died in their infancy. Lewis XIV. pretended that Flanders and the Franche-Comté, two provinces belonging to the kingdom of Spain, ought by the laws of those provinces to devolve to his wife, notwithstanding her former renunciation. Were the causes of kings to be tried by the laws of nations ; before an impartial tribunal, perhaps this affair might have appeared a little doubtful.

Lewis submitted his claims to the examination of his council, and the body of theologians, who declared them indisputable ; but the council and confessor of Philip IV's widow, thought them very ill founded. This princess had a very powerful argument in her favour ; the express law made by Charles V. but Charles V's laws were very little attended to by the court of France.

One of the prettexts made use of by the French king's council was, that the five hundred thousand
crowns

crowns which had been granted in dowry with his wife, had never been payed; but they had forgot at the same time, that the marriage portion of Henry IV's daughter had likewise never been payed. The two courts at first waged a paper war with each other, in which the nicest calculations, and most learned arguments were displayed on both sides; but reasons of state silenced all other pleas.

The king confiding more in strength than arguments, marched in person into 1667 Flanders, as a place he was sure of conquering, at the head of thirty-five thousand men; while another body of eight thousand was dispatched towards Dunkirk, and a third, consisting of four thousand, to Luxembourg. Turenne had the command of this army, under his majesty. Colbert had multiplied the resources of the state, to furnish the necessary expences. Louvois, the new secretary at war, had made immense preparations for carrying on the campaign, and magazines of all kinds were distributed over the frontiers. He was the first who introduced the advantageous method of supplying the army by magazines, which the weak condition of the government had hitherto rendered impracticable. Whatever place the king chose to lay siege to, or whithersoever he turned his arms, he was sure of finding supplies and subsistence ready. The quarters for the troops were all fixed, and their marches regulated. The officers were all kept close to their duty, by the strict discipline which this minister caused to be observed amongst them: and the presence of a young monarch, who was the idol of his army,

army, made the strictness of their duty light, and even pleasing to them. The military degree became a right more inviolably observed than even that of birth. It was the man's services and not his family that was considered; a thing which had hitherto been rarely seen. By this means an officer however inconsiderable in point of birth, met with the encouragement due to his merit; and those of the most exalted rank had no reason for complaint. The infantry, who sustained all the weight of the war, since the disuse of lances, shared with the cavalry in those rewards which they had till then been in sole possession of. These new maxims in the government inspired every one with a new kind of courage.

The king, assisted by a general and minister of equal abilities, both jealous of each other, and striving who should best serve him, at the head of the best troops in Europe, and newly engaged in an alliance with Portugal, with all those advantages attacks an ill defended province of a ruined and distracted kingdom. He had only his mother-in-law, Philip IV's widow to deal with, and she a weak woman, whose unfortunate administration left her kingdom defenceless. She had made her confessor, one father Nitard, a German Jesuit, prime minister, a man as fit for lording it over his penitent, as he was unfit for governing a state, having nothing of the minister or the churchman but haughtiness and ambition. He had the influence one day to say to the duke of Lerma, even before he came into the administration, "It is you who ought to shew me respect, since

since I have every day your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet." With all this insolence, so contrary to true greatness of mind, he suffered the treasury to remain without money, all the fortifications in the kingdom to go to ruin, the harbours to be without shipping, and the army without discipline, destitute of generals, badly payed, and still worse commanded, in presence of an enemy who possessed all the requisites which Spain wanted.

The art of attacking places was not at the degree of perfection it now is, because that of fortifying and defending them was not so well known. The frontiers of Spanish Flanders were almost destitute of fortifications, and even garrisons.

Lewis then had nothing more to do than to present himself before them. He entered Charleroi as he would Paris: Ath, and Tournai, were taken in two days: Furnes, Armentieres, and Courtrai, made as little resistance. The king entered the trenches before Douai July 6 one day, and the next morning it capitulated. Lisle, which was the finest 1667 town in that country, and the only one well fortified, and had a garrison of six hundred men, capitulated after nine days siege. The Spaniards had only eight Aug. 27 thousand men to oppose a victorious army, and even the rear guard of this small body was cut in pieces by the marquis, afterwards marshal de Crequi: the remainder Aug. 31 hid itself under the walls of Brussels and Mons, leaving Lewis to carry on his conquests, without striking a blow.

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This campaign, which was made in the midst of abundance, and had been attended with such easy successes, seemed a party of pleasure made by a court. High living, luxury, and pleasures, were then first introduced into our armies, at the same time that the strictest discipline likewise was established. The officers performed military duty much more exactly than before; but with every kind of convenience. Marshal Turenne had for a long time been served only upon iron plates, when in camp. The marquis d'Humieres was the first at the siege of Arras, in 1658, who was served in plate in the trenches, and had different courses at his table. But in this campaign of 1667, where a young monarch, who was fond of magnificence, held the most brilliant court amidst the fatigues of the field, every one prided himself in shewing a taste for splendor, elegant living, dress, and equipage. This luxury, the certain mark of riches in a great state, and frequently the cause of ruin to a small one, was nothing in comparison of what has been seen since. The king, his generals, and ministers, then went to the rendezvous of the army on horseback; whereas now, there is not a captain of horse, nor the secretary of a general officer, but has his post-chaise hung on springs, in which he travels with greater ease and convenience, than in those days a person could make a visit from one part of Paris to another.

This delicacy in the officers did not hinder them from going into the trenches with their steel caps and cuirasses: the king himself set
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the example. This prudent precaution preserved many a great man. It has been too much neglected since by our young people, who are naturally tender and effeminate, though courageous, and who seem to dread fatigue more than danger.

The rapidity of the king's conquests filled Brussels with alarms. The inhabitants already began to remove their effects to Antwerp. All Flanders might have been conquered in a single campaign. The king only wanted a sufficient number of troops to put into those places which were ready to open their gates at his approach. Louvois advised him to put large garrisons into the conquered towns, and to fortify them; and Vauban, one of the many great men and surprising geniuses which appeared in this century, for the service of Lewis XIV. was appointed for this purpose. He constructed the fortifications on a new method of his own, which is now become the standard for all good engineers. It was matter of surprize to see towns surrounded by walls which were almost on a level with the neighbouring country. The old lofty and menacing ramparts were only more exposed by their height to the force of the artillery; but by making them sloping or shelving, they were the less liable to this inconvenience. He built the citadel of Lille on the *à principes*. At that time, 1686 the government of a town and its citadel were among the French always vested in the same person; but now an innovation was made in favour of Vauban, who was the first governor of a citadel: and here we may observe

serve, that the first of those plans in relieve, which are to be seen in the gallery of the Louvre, is that of the fortifications of Lille.

The king now hastened back to Paris to enjoy the acclamations of his people, the adorations of his courtiers and mistresses, and partake of the splendid entertainments which he gave to his court.

END of the SIXTH VOLUME. *



